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The Story of Rome

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Campo Vaccino. *in the Eighteenth Century.*

The Story of ROME

by Norwood Young

Illustrated by Nelly Erichsen

London: J. M. Dent & Sons Ltd.
Aldine House, 10–13 *Bedford Street*
Covent Garden, W.C. * * *
New York: E. P. Dutton & Co.—1926

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Digna locus Roma est quo Deus omnis eat.
Ovid.

60477

First Edition, January 1901.
Second Edition, September 1901.
Third Edition, January 1904.
Fourth Edition, January 1905.
Fifth Edition, April 1907.
Sixth Edition, July 1910.
Seventh Edition, July 1919.
Eighth Edition, March 1923.
Ninth Edition, May 1926.

Printed in Great Britain.

PREFACE

THE story of Rome covers an area so vast that it would be pedantic on my part to apologise for the omissions which will be observed on every page of this little book. It is, of necessity, an abridgment of the work of many authors and many volumes.

The small space at my disposal has made it impossible to add to the story of Christianity in Rome any adequate consideration of Roman churches, museums and ruins. I have devoted one chapter, the second, to a slight sketch of the remains lying in the neighbourhood of the Colosseum and Forum Romanum, and I have mentioned the more important of the recent sensational discoveries, but it is too early yet to dogmatise as to their exact significance. Excavation is still being keenly pursued, and new finds may at any moment negative the opinions already formed.

Such other topographical references as the book contains will be found in the last chapter, and in the Appendix, which has an itinerary for the hurried visitor, a short list of books, and a very brief statement of the more interesting objects to be found in some of the most important churches.

I have been greatly assisted by the valuable advice of Mr G. M'N. Rushforth, M.A., of Oriel College, Oxford; and by my brother, Mr Dalhousie Young, M.A., late of Balliol College, Oxford.

N. Y.

NOTE TO THE THIRD EDITION

This edition has had the advantage of a thorough revision, as to its archæology, by Mr G. M'N. Rushforth, the first Director of the British School at Rome. The short notice in the second chapter of the classic remains in the neighbourhood of the Forum, as revealed by the recent excavations, has thus been brought up to date by one of the most reliable authorities.

N. Y.

NOTE TO THE FIFTH EDITION

The second chapter dealing with the Forum area, has again been revised, and the latest of Com. Boni's discoveries have been mentioned.

N. Y.

NOTE TO THE NINTH EDITION

Some further corrections have again been made.

N. Y.

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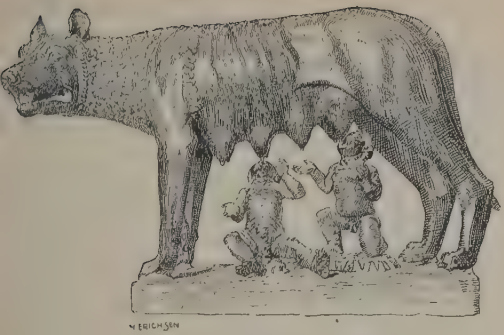


THE WOLF IN THE PALACE OF CONSERVATORS

The Story of Rome

CHAPTER I

The Rise of Rome

'Tu regere imperio populos, Romane, memento :
Hae tibi erunt artes, pacisque imponere morem,
Parcere subjectis, et debellare superbos.'—*Vergil.*

THE origin of a town is to be found in its site. In the period when Rome was first selected for habitation, long before 753 B.C., the legendary date of Romulus, a good site lay amongst fertile plains, with a hill for defence and a river for navigation. Rome had all these advantages. She was nearly in the

centre of a fine pastoral district, bounded by the Sabine and Alban hills on one side, and by the sea on the other.

Her seven hills stood on the banks of the Tiber, far enough from the coast-line to be safe from the attacks of pirates, and near enough for easy communication seawards. These famous hills were the Quirinal, Viminal, Esquiline, Cælian, Aventine, Capitoline and Palatine. Of these only the Aventine, Capitoline and Palatine were near the river. The Aventine, while precipitous towards the Tiber, was open to attack in the other directions, and the Capitoline was too small for settlement. The Palatine satisfied all requirements. It was steep on all sides, and yet afforded convenient access for the herds of the primitive settlers, by the slope upon which now stands the Arch of Titus. The walled town, square in shape, and hence called Roma Quadrata, was entered in the middle of this north-eastern face by the Porta Mugonia. And the Palatine had the further advantage of a central position amongst the hills, surrounded by the six others without being cut off from its close touch with the river.

The Romans believed—and these Roman traditions powerfully affected the history of the capital of the world—that after the fall of Troy, Æneas, carrying with him his father Anchises, his son Ascanius, the Penates or household gods, and the Palladium, a statue of Pallas or Minerva which had fallen from heaven, journeyed to the coast of Latium, where he founded, about three miles from the mouth of the Tiber, the town of Lavinium. This spot was afterwards regarded by the Romans as the sacred repository of their national religion; it was the custom in the time of the Republic for dictators, consuls and other officials to sacrifice at Lavinium when they entered upon office. Ascanius founded Alba Longa on a ridge of the Alban Moun-

tains, where he and a succession of sixteen Latin kings reigned for over 400 years. The last of these kings were the brothers Amulius and Numitor. Amulius, the usurper, compelled Rhea Silvia, the daughter of Numitor, to become a Vestal Virgin, hoping thus to destroy all chance of an heir being born to inherit the throne of Numitor. This scheme was frustrated by the god Mars, whose love for the Vestal was followed by the birth of the twin brothers Romulus and Remus. By the order of Amulius, Rhea was buried alive according to law, and the twins were placed in their cradle upon the Tiber, then in flood, and abandoned to their fate. But the noble river, the 'father' of the Roman people, gently deposited the cradle at the foot of the Palatine, where it was overturned, as the waters receded, on the root of a wild fig-tree. Here a she-wolf gave her milk to the babes, and a woodpecker brought them food. Discovered at length by a shepherd, they were brought up by his wife, and grew to manhood on the Palatine Hill.

The well-known legend need not be related further. It shows that in Roman belief the Palatine was inhabited by shepherds before the foundation of a walled village upon the summit by Romulus. A pastoral people, settled in the Campagna, was under the influence of a controlling centre somewhere in the Alban Mountains. Then a walled town was built upon the Palatine Hill, which, from its position on the Tiber, became the commercial focus of the trade of the neighbourhood.

Thus Rome began her career as the emporium and fortress of the surrounding country. That district, Latium, lies in the centre of Italy.

The whole history of the rise of Rome is thus explained. Rome began by conquering Latium, and thence extended her sway over Italy. Her success

was certain, because after every fight the victor took possession of the most convenient spot; and Rome was therefore always the ultimate home of the dominant race. Whether the conquerors were originally Latins, Sabines or Etruscans, they all became Romans.

The Romans themselves attributed much of their success to the situation of their town. When Rome had been destroyed by the Gauls in 390 B.C., some of the houseless Romans advocated an emigration to the neighbouring town of Veii. Livy has put in the mouth of Camillus, the conqueror of Veii, the following reasons for rebuilding their city[1]:—

'Not without good cause both God and man chose this place for the building of this City: most healthy and wholsome hills: a very convenient and commodious river; to bring in corn and other fruits out of the inland parts, to receive provision and other victuals from the sea-coasts: the sea itself near enough for commodities, and not exposed and open by too much nearness to the dangers of forrain navies: the very heart and centre of all Italy, a place as a man would say, "naturally made, and only for that City to grow and increase in."'

Thus excellently placed with regard to Latium and Italy, Rome was also in the centre of the Mediterranean basin. Thus when the Roman Imperium was at its greatest extension, under Trajan (100 A.D.), and included the whole of the civilised world, it stretched equally in all directions from Rome. From the north of England to Rome is as far as from Rome to Jerusalem; from Gibraltar to Rome the same distance as from Rome to the furthest Roman possessions beyond the Danube. The geographical position of Rome, and the military successes of its citizens, naturally encouraged a political system of centralisation in the

[1] All the translations from Livy in this book are taken from the Elizabethan work of Philemon Holland.

capital; and the practical engineering skill of the Romans furnished the Empire with the necessary arteries, the famous Roman roads, all radiating from the heart, carrying Roman civilisation and life to the furthest limits of Europe.

A time came, however, when it was apparent that the centre of gravity had shifted from Rome. The countries north of the Mediterranean proved more important than those on its shores. A policy of decentralisation was found to be desirable, and therefore centres of executive government were created in the subordinate capitals—Trèves (Trier), Milan (afterwards superseded by Ravenna); and in the east Nicomedia, Antioch, Constantinople. These sub-capitals had the further advantage of being near to the chief points of danger on the frontiers. It also became evident that the peculiar conditions of the site of Rome, which had made her an excellent centre on a small scale, did not suffice for the capital of a great empire. The summits of the seven hills seem to have been the only healthy parts of the city, and they were insufficient for the accommodation of a large population; while the Tiber frequently inundated the lower portions, and was too shallow and small a river for serving as the commercial highway of the world's capital. Julius Cæsar and Augustus both had serious thoughts of removing the seat of Empire. Diocletian virtually did so when he abandoned Rome for Nicomedia. In the fourth century Trier, Milan and Constantinople were the Imperial residences. During the last two centuries of the Empire, Rome seldom received the honour of the Imperial presence.

The rise and fall of Rome may thus be shortly ascribed to her position, as the true centre of Latium and Italy, and the false centre of Europe.

The Roman type, with its manly, self-confident

character, was produced by incessant warfare, both external and internal. The Temple of Janus, closed in peace, open in war, was continuously open (except for a short interval between the first and second Punic Wars) from Numa to Augustus, a period of 650 years. While this process of selection and hardening was steadily raising the conquering type, an equally constant and severe conflict raged inside the city. The struggle between patricians and plebeians continued through the whole period of growth, up to the foundation of the Empire. Its most famous incident was the secession of the plebeians to the Mons Sacer, about three miles from Rome, in B.C. 494. The patricians sent one of their number, Menenius Agrippa, to remonstrate and induce the plebeians to return. Agrippa, as Livy relates, 'after that old and harsh kind of eloquence in those days, spake as men saith to this effect, and told this tale and parable: "Upon a time (quoth he) when as in man's body, all the parts thereof agreed not, as now they do in one, but each member had a several intent and meaning; yea, and a speech by itself: and so it befel, that all other parts besides the belly, thought much and repined that by their carefulness, labor, and ministery, all was gotten, and yet all little enough to serve it: and the belly itself lying still in the midst of them, did nothing else but enjoy the delightsome pleasures brought unto her. Whereupon they mutinied and conspired altogether in this wise, that neither the hands should reach and convey food into the mouth, nor the mouth receive it as it came, nor yet the teeth grind and chew the same. In this mood and fit, whiles they were minded to famish the poor belly, behold the other limbs, yea, and the whole body besides, pined, wasted, and fell into an extreme consumption. Then was it well seen, that even the very belly also did no small service, but fed the others'

parts, as it received food itself: seeing that by working and concocting the meat thoroughly, it digesteth and distributeth by the veins into all parts, that fresh and perfect blood whereby we live, we like, and have our full strength." Comparing herewith, and making his application, to wit, how like this intestine and inward sedition of the body, was to the fell stomach of the commons, which they had taken and born against the senators, he turned quite the people's hearts.'

The interdependence of all classes, thus early appreciated by the Romans, was the solid foundation upon which they built their political system. A sober, religious and manly race, hardened by the ordeal of external and internal battle, gradually fashioned a system of government based upon mutual respect and compromise, in which the rights and the duties of the individual and of the community were sensibly adjusted.

Mommsen tells us how it was done:—

'The great problem of mankind,' says the German historian, 'how to live in conscious harmony with himself, with his neighbour, and with the whole to which he belongs, admits of as many solutions as there are provinces in Our Father's Kingdom; and it is in this, and not in the material sphere, that individuals and nations display their divergencies of character.' And then he makes the following comparison between the Greek and the Roman: 'That Hellenic character, which sacrificed the whole to its individual elements, the nation to the single state, and the single state to the citizen; whose ideal of life was the beautiful and the good, and, only too often, the pleasure of idleness; whose political development consisted in intensifying the original individualism of the several centres, and subsequently led to the internal dissolution of the authority of the state; whose view of religion first

invested the gods with human attributes, and then denied their existence; which gave full play to the limbs in the sports of the naked youth, and gave free scope to thought in all its grandeur and in all its awfulness; and that Roman character which solemnly bound the son to reverence the father, the citizen to reverence the ruler, and all to reverence the gods; which required nothing and honoured nothing but the useful act, and compelled every citizen to fill up every moment of his life with unceasing work; which made it a duty even in the boy to modestly cover the body; which deemed everyone a bad citizen who wished to be different from his fellows; which viewed the state as all in all, and a desire for the state's extension as the only aspiration not liable to censure.'

In Rome, he says, 'the ultimate foundation of the law was in all cases the state; liberty was simply another expression for the right of citizenship in its widest sense; all property was based upon express or tacit transference from the community to the individual; a contract was valid only so far as the community confirmed it. This state which made the highest demands upon its burgesses, and carried the idea of subordinating the individual to the interest of the whole further than any state before or since has done, only did and only could do so by itself removing the barriers to intercourse, and unshackling liberty quite as much as it subjected it to restriction.'

Freedom and discipline are the essential factors in every scheme of government. The secret of prosperity lies in the creation of an equilibrium between the two. The higher the civilisation, the closer will be the approximation to a perfect poise. Greece became powerful by the temporary co-operation of the different entities of her population. Rome conquered the world by the permanent concentration of all individual

P. Vaticano
PAL. VATICANO
S. Pietro in Vaticano
Piazza del Risorgimento
Via Cola di Rienzo
Piazza dei Quiriti
Via Pompeo Magno
Via Crescenzio
Borgo Nuovo
Borgo Vecchio
Porta Castello
Piazza Cavour
Castello S. Angelo
Mausoleum Hadriani
Pal. di Giust.
Piazza di S. Pietro
Porta Fabbrica
Porta Cavalleggeri
S. Spirito in Sassia
Villa Barberini
Pons Vaticanus
Ponte S. Angelo (Pons Aelius)
Ponte
Via di Porta Cavalleggeri
Via di Torre Spada
Via di Panico
Via di Sant'Uffizio
Via di Sant'Onofrio
Via di Monte Giordano
Via di Panico
Via di Tor di Nona
Via di Ripetta
Via del Corso
Via Condotti
Via Frattina
Via della Croce
Via Mario de' Fiori
Via Due Macelli
Via Belsiana
Via della Vite
Via Lata
Via del Collegio Romano
Via del Caravita
Via del Gesù
Via del Plebiscito
Via del Seminario
Via Quattro Fontane
Via Nazionale
Via Venti Settembre
Via Agostino Depretis
Via Cavour
Via Panisperna
Via Giovanni Lanza
Via Merulana
Via Labicana
Via Tasso
Via Emanuele Filiberto
Via Carlo Felice
Via Ostiense
Via Aurelia
Via Ostiense
Via Portuense
Via Ripa Grande
Via Marmorata
Via Aventina
Via Ardeatina
Via Appia Nuova
Via Appia Antica
Via Latina
Via Appia
Via Aurelia
Via Aurelia Antica
Via Cassia
Via Flaminia
Via Flaminia Nuova
Via Salaria
Via Nomentana
Via Pia
Via Nomentana Nuova
Via Tiburtina
Via Prenestina
Via Casilina
Via Tuscolana
Via Appia Nuova

energy in the cause of the state. But when Greek liberty became licence, Greece fell; and when Roman discipline degenerated into tyranny, the Roman empire came to an end.

The Empire fell, but Rome had a second career before her. Enriched by the fallen leaves of the Empire, the soil pushed up a new growth even more wonderful than the first. Once more Rome conquered the world, this time by moral influence — a force hitherto unrecognised. Her second child, the Pope, became greater even than Cæsar had been. Taking the track of the Roman legions, the Papal Imperium penetrated further, into countries which they had never trod. But the Pope failed to obtain permanent hold of the new territories. Physical Rome had not prepared them for the reception of moral Rome. And so at the present day the Papal influence is greatest where Cæsar has been strongest.

To turn now from the abstract to the concrete. Let us pay our respects to the city.

There are several excellent points from which good general views may be obtained. On a first visit to Rome the stranger would do well to begin his experiences on the Janiculan Hill, extending them on the Aventine and Palatine, and concluding with the Capitol. A full half-day of four hours (or more) should be given to the expedition.

He should go by way of the Corso, the Piazza del Popolo, the Castle of St. Angelo and St. Peter's, to S. Onofrio, where the carriage will halt; doing so again at Tasso's Oak; and at the open space where stands the large equestrian statue of Garibaldi. The view of St. Peter's from the west edge of this plateau should not be omitted. The most famous panorama of Rome is a little further on, past the Acqua Paola, in front of S. Pietro in Montorio.

There will be a feeling of surprise at the general aspect of flatness, not one of the seven hills being, at first, perceptible. But these historic eminences were never more than large mounds, and in the course of two thousand years their elevation has been diminished by the filling in of the valleys. The mountains in the background are finely visible—on the left Monte Mario; then Monte Soratte; in front the Sabine Hills; on the right the Alban Mountains (the original home of the Roman race), with the towns of Frascati and Grotta Ferrata on their lower slopes, flanked by Monte Cavo.

Glancing over the city, it will be noticed that there are many domes and square-topped towers (campanili), but not a single spire, though some of the campanili—such as that of S. Crisogono in Trastevere, just below the spectator, or S. M. Maggiore facing him on the Esquiline—have a needle point to the square tower. There is nothing northern or Gothic about this town; rather has it a touch of eastern, of Byzantine influence. There is also a general impression of vastness and of utilitarianism, of broad, barrack-like façades pierced with long lines of windows—the Palazzo Farnese, for instance, the Quirinal, and even the Basilica of S. Paolo Fuori, might be taken for hospitals or barns. And this is evidently not an ancient, nor yet a mediæval town. The bones of classic Rome may lie hidden somewhere in the streets below, but are not here visible. Nor does this bright city carry on its face the marks of its sad mediæval life. In the middle age only a small part of the present area was inhabited. That surface was covered with towers, to the number of a thousand—watch-towers on the walls, bell-towers used for the defence of the churches, and separate military fortresses. Only one of them is visible from here, the Torre delle Milizie, to the left of the twin globes and campanile of S. M. Maggiore. All that

fierce and gloomy Rome has disappeared, and we have before us a town dating from the Renaissance, but mainly the product of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

Rome has her moods. Sometimes she is as Zola, standing on this spot, found her, 'fresh and youthful, with a volatile, almost incorporeal gaiety of aspect, smiling as at the hope of a new life in the pure dawn of a lovely day;' so she will seem on any bright morning, especially to a stranger,—a smiling, unobtrusive city, half veiled in golden mist. As the day wears on, the outlines become sharp and hard, with violent contrasts, patches of light and shade. Later, again, the dark aspect predominates: the city is thinking of what she was in the time of Augustus, the dreaded arbiter of all mankind, and a severe, domineering look comes over her face, as if by frowning she hoped to regain the terrifying despotism of her youth now two thousand years past.

It is for the panorama that we have come here, not for the identification of individual buildings, many of those which are conspicuous from this point being of minor interest, and most of the domes belonging to unimportant churches. Some of the more famous edifices may be noted. To the extreme left is the dome of St. Peter's; then the small campanile of S. Spirito in Sassia; the buildings in the Prati; the Castle of St. Angelo; the Palace of Justice, finished at last; the Pincian Hill covered with trees; the Villa Medici; the Quirinal Palace and the dome of the Gesu. Apparently grouped together, though in reality some distance apart, are the Torre delle Milizie, the façade of the Ara Cœli, the twin domes and tower of S. M. Maggiore, and the tower on the Capitol. Then we see the giant arches of the Basilica of Constantine, the tower of S. Francesca Romana, and just above

the trees the top of the Colosseum can be discerned; further to the right are the statues on the summit of St. John Lateran, and the ruins of the palace of Septimius Severus on the Palatine. Near at hand the tower of S. Cecilia; above it the Cælian Hill, with S. Stefano Rotondo and the Villa Mattei; then the Aventine Hill, with S. Sabina, S. Alessio and the new Benedictine monastery and Church of S. Anselmo;

THE PALATINE FROM THE AVENTINE

in the distant Campagna good eyes will distinguish the round tomb of Cecilia Metella; nearer are the pyramidal tomb of Caius Cestius, and the trees of the Protestant cemetery; then Monte Testaccio, and on the extreme right S. Paolo Fuori on guard at one end of Rome, while St. Peter's watches at the other.

The best view of the Palatine is obtained from the terrace of the Restaurant Constantino, on the Aventine. The ruins on the Palatine, formerly always referred to as the 'Palaces of the Cæsars,' are mementoes of the vanity of those emperors who tried to symbolise their power, and compel the attention of posterity, by their extravagant building operations.

Augustus had been born in the Palatine, and he it was, though with his sane moderation, who set the fashion by erecting the first Imperial Palace. His example was followed by Tiberius, Caligula, Domitian and Septimius Severus, who has left in the substructure of his palace the picturesque remains which we now see. On the Capitoline Hill, to the left, we are faced by the Tarpeian Rock, where the sentence of death upon a condemned criminal was carried out by pushing him over the cliff.

The modern entrance to the Palatine is between it and the Capitol. The topography of the Palatine is not easily made out on a first acquaintance, and the guides, though useful as finger-posts, are excessively loquacious. Having reached the cliff (just inside the entrance), you should turn to the right, passing the remains of the original walls of Roma Quadrata, and, rounding the oldest corner of Rome, ascend the hill by the second path on the left, which is seen to lead to the ruins. Here you will find yourself in the stadium, the arena for athletic contests; on the right are stairs, from the top of which, by returning towards the river and crossing a foot bridge, the terrace of the palace of Severus is reached. If you walk to the end of it (left) you will look down upon the Via S. Gregorio (the ancient Via Triumphalis), in the valley between the Palatine and Cælian. Just below, on the left, are some remains of the Aqua Claudia; above them the Arch of Constantine and the Colosseum; in front, on the Cælian Hill, are the apsidal end and the campanile of SS. Giovanni e Paolo; then the statues on the Lateran; S. Gregorio Magno, on the site of the palace in which Gregory the Great was born; at the back the Villa Mattei, surrounded by its fringe of pine, cypress and ilex. There are good views of the walls of the city, with the gate of

S. Sebastiano, the round tomb of Cecilia Metella, and, nearer, the huge baths of Caracalla. A strange medley of thought is produced as the eye now distinguishes in the distance, on the right, the clump of trees marking the Tre Fontane, where St. Paul was beheaded; the Basilica of S. Paolo Fuori, founded by Constantine to cover the Apostle's tomb; the gate of S. Paolo; almost touching it the pyramidal tomb of an obscure pagan, one Caius Cestius; and close to it the glorious trees under whose silent branches lie buried two Englishmen, one 'whose name was writ in water,' the other, of whom nothing

> 'Doth fade,
> But doth suffer a sea change
> Into something rich and strange.'

The solid form of the heathen tomb has helped to preserve it from the time of Augustus to our own day. It is the oldest monument in Rome which has retained anything of its original shape. In spite of its age (1900 years) it is still a living thing, not, as are most of the classic remains, mere bones. St. Paul must have seen it as he passed on his way to execution. Scipio and Hannibal, Marius and Sulla, Cæsar and Pompey, were then all dead; but the pyramid has been examined by Augustus and Horace, Nero and St. Peter, Trajan and Marcus Aurelius, Constantine and Alaric, Theodoric and Belisarius, our own King Alfred, and Charlemagne, Benedict and Gregory, Dominic and Francis, Godfrey de Bouillon and Frederic Barbarossa, Dante and Petrarch, Giotto and Perugino, Raphael and Michelangelo, Cæsar Borgia and Machiavelli, Luther and Galileo, Milton and Goethe—and now it looks down upon the graves of Keats and Shelley.

In returning you should keep to the upper road and

ascend some steps on the right until a flat, open space is reached. On the right are the columns of *cipollino*, which belonged to the Palace of Domitian. Proceeding in the direction of the Forum (E.), you have on your left the crypto-porticus in which Caligula was murdered. A narrow path up to the garden on the left leads to the northern corner of the Palatine, overlooking the Temple of Augustus, the newly discovered church, and the Lacus Juturnæ. Turning back through the garden and down some steps, you emerge in front of the Villa Farnese. By clambering down a grassy slope to the left front a point can be easily reached whence the whole of the Forum area, the Sacra Via, and even the Arch of Constantine, are visible—advantages which are not to be obtained from any other part of the Palatine. On the left is the Capitol, with the Tabularium and tower in the centre. On its left (W.) summit stood the chief of Roman temples, that to Capitoline Jove; on the right (E.) apex was the Arx or

COLUMNS OF THE PALACE OF DOMITIAN

citadel. In the Middle Ages this hill was almost bare; it carried a gallows and was known as the Monte Caprino, the hill of goats, just as the Forum was the Campo Vaccino or field of cattle. In the pit before us we see on the left the Basilica Julia, looking, as Zola says, like an architect's ground plan; there also are eight columns of the Temple of Saturn; three of the Temple of Vespasian; the Arch of Septimius Severus on the further side; the Column of Diocletian more in the centre; just below, three columns of the Temple of Castor and Pollux; on the opposite side the columns of the Temple of Antoninus and Faustina, the round Temple of Romulus, son of Maxentius (fourth century), and the huge arches of the Basilica of Constantine, near the church and campanile of S. Francesca Romana; more to the right is the Arch of Titus, and beyond that the Colosseum and Arch of Constantine. A more detailed examination must be postponed to a later occasion. What strikes one is the narrowness of this historic spot where modern civilisation was made; and the Forum itself was only a small part of this very restricted area. From the eminence on which we stand, the despotic emperors looked down upon the elbowing crowds of their slaves.

By a path to the left we pass through the Palace of Caligula, and back to our point of entrance. Turning here to the right we reach the Forum at a lower level, and then mount the steps on the left to the entrance (right) of the Tabularium, in order to ascend the tower of the Capitol. In the Forum we see again the bones of antiquity, and the long spinal column of the Sacra Via leading towards the church and campanile of S. Francesca Romana, the Arches of Titus and Constantine, and the Colosseum. Beyond are the church and palace of the Lateran, the arches of the Claudian Aqueduct and the Alban Moun-

tains. We have a good view of the picturesque square Palatine, with its grass, trees and ruined old walls. Above it are the Baths of Caracalla, the mediæval walls of Rome, the Porta S. Sebastiano, and in the distance the tomb of Cecilia Metella. On the right are the tomb of Cestius, and the Protestant Cemetery, and the Via Ostia, along which St. Paul marched to execution, leading to the church of S. Paolo, and the Tre Fontane in the distance.

Turning now to the left, the domes and tower of S. M. Maggiore become prominent; nearer, the Torre delle Milizie; the long line of the Quirinal Palace; below it the garden of the Palazzo Rospigliosi and the Column of Trajan; and above, the Villa Medici and Pincian Hill; on the left (west) of the Pincio the Via Flaminia runs from Ponte Molle (and beyond) to the Piazza del Popolo; from there we can see a narrow street, seldom lit by the sun, leading to the Capitol—it is the Corso; on its way it leaves on the west (our left) the dome of S. Carlo, the circular roof of the Mausoleum of Augustus, and the Column of Marcus Aurelius in the Piazza Colonna. Some day, perhaps, the Corso may reach the foot of the steps which lead to the Piazza Campidoglio, just below us, where stands the equestrian statue of Marcus Aurelius, which has been exposed to sun and tempest for 1700 years, and the Capitoline and Conservatori Museums, with their priceless treasures. On the left of the Corso are the dome of the Gesu, the top of the Pantheon—an eyeball without iris—and the Palace of Justice in course of construction, among the ugly square blocks of the Prati. Then follow the Castle of St. Angelo, the Vatican Palace, and St. Peter's. On the Janiculan Hill we can see the statue of Garibaldi, the Acqua Paola, and S. Pietro in Montorio. The Tiber is well seen, with the Ponte Garibaldi, the Tiber Island, and

the Ponte Palatino. In Trastevere are the campanili of S. Crisogono and Sa. Cecilia. The campanile of S. M. in Cosmedin can be distinguished below the Aventine Hill.

We now face the Forum once more. Between the Colosseum and the Column of Trajan lay the great Imperial Fora of Julius, Vespasian, Nerva, Augustus and Trajan, all now destroyed or buried. In the narrow streets below some slight fragments remain—a beautiful little piece from the Forum of Nerva, a larger section of the Temple of Mars Ultor (avenger), erected in his forum by Augustus in return for the assistance given him by the god of war in avenging the murder of his great-uncle; together with one of the entrances (Arco dei Pantani), and part of the outer wall. The most substantial relic of these fora is the Column of Trajan, which was originally surrounded by buildings and paved areas, collectively designated the Forum of Trajan. Space was made for it, and at the same time an outlet created for traffic, from the Forum Romanum between the Capitoline and Quirinal hills, by excavating and carrying away a large amount of soil, and cutting a long slope on to the Quirinal hill, up to a point as high as the top of the column. From the Forum Romanum the Roman passed through the Fora of Cæsar and Augustus, and then under the magnificent triumphal Arch of Trajan, before reaching the open space of the Forum Trajanum. The Forum of Trajan was surrounded by a triple row of columns, and contained in the centre an equestrian statue of Trajan; beyond it was the roofed Basilica Ulpia, one of the most splendid buildings in Rome. Part of the site has been excavated, and a number of broken columns have in modern times been erected on the excavated area, but unfortunately not in accordance with their original positions. Beyond the basilica the

column, its lower part concealed by the basilica roof, stood in a small open court adorned with statues. To right and left were the two libraries, one for Greek the other for Latin works. The series of buildings was completed on the further side of the column by the Temple of Trajan.

The Column of Trajan is covered by a spiral band of reliefs in the best manner, giving a pictorial history of Trajan's conquest of Dacia. Most of these sculptures could originally be well examined from the galleries which surrounded the lower part of the column. On the summit was a colossal statue of Trajan, which Sixtus V. replaced by that of St. Peter. The general effect produced by the column half buried in buildings would seem strange in our day. A modern architect would doubtless have placed the column in the centre of the open space of the Forum, and the equestrian statue where the column stands.

What was thought of this wonderful work of the Greek architect, Apollodorus, we learn from Ammianus Marcellinus, who records the visit to Rome of the Emperor Constantius in the middle of the fourth century, having with him the Persian prince, Hormisdas.

'As the Emperor,' says the historian, 'reviewed the vast city and its environs, spreading along the slopes, in the valleys, and between the summits of the Seven Hills, he declared that the spectacle which first met his eyes surpassed everything he had yet beheld. Now his gaze rested on the Temple of the Tarpeian Jupiter, now on baths so magnificent as to resemble entire provinces, now on the massive pile of the amphitheatre, massively compact, of Tivoli stone, the summit of which seems scarcely accessible to the human eye; now on the Pantheon, rising like a fairy dome, and its sublime columns, with their gently-inclined stair-

cases, adorned with statues of departed emperors; not to enumerate the Temple of the City, the Forum of Peace, the Theatre of Pompey, the Odeum, the Stadium, and all the other architectural wonders of eternal Rome. When, however, he came to the Forum of Trajan, a structure unequalled by any other of its kind throughout the world, so exquisite, indeed, that the gods themselves would find it hard to refuse their admiration, he stood as if in a trance, surveying with a dazed air the stupendous fabric which neither words can picture nor mortal ever again attempt to rear. Then, realising the futility of attempting any similar masterpiece, he exclaimed despairingly that the horse which Trajan bestrode in the midst of the Atrium was all that he would, or could, imitate. Prince Hormisdas, who stood close beside him, thereupon rejoined, with admirable adroitness, "In order, most august Emperor, that the horse you propose to set up may have a stable worthy of him, at once command one to be erected as magnificent as this." Being asked what he thought of Rome, the Emperor replied, that in one respect he was disappointed, namely, to find that its men were not immortal. After inspecting everything with the profoundest amazement, the Emperor admitted that fame, which exaggerated all, had not adequately described the glories of Rome. Finally, as a contribution to her splendours, he caused an obelisk to be erected in the Circus Maximus.'

Rome must indeed at that time have been a city to excite astonishment. It contained no single buildings so large or so solid as the palaces and pyramids of Egypt and the Euphrates Valley. But for number, splendour, and variety of buildings, great and small, no city that ever has existed deserves to be mentioned in comparison with Rome. Its magnificence was due

partly to the fact that conquest meant booty, and that great wealth had few outlets except in the direction of architectural display. But the Roman political system of centralisation, of State initiative and State domination, naturally tended toward the erection of buildings for the service and amusement of the public. From the central point of the Capitol immense edifices could be seen on every side; circuses, stadia, theatres and amphitheatres for amusement; baths for enjoyment; temples and shrines for religion; basilicas and fora for law, politics and trade; triumphal arches, statues and mausolea as rewards for public service. The Forum Romanum and Imperial Fora covered a space of 25 acres devoted to the public. This was only the core of the city, which spread with similar splendour in every direction. Lanciani has computed that in the fourth century there existed over 400 temples, 300 shrines, 140 statues of gods, and 4000 other bronze statues. There were also immense private houses, the palaces of emperors and villas of rich citizens. On the other hand, the people, to the number of over a million, mostly slaves, were crowded into very narrow quarters.

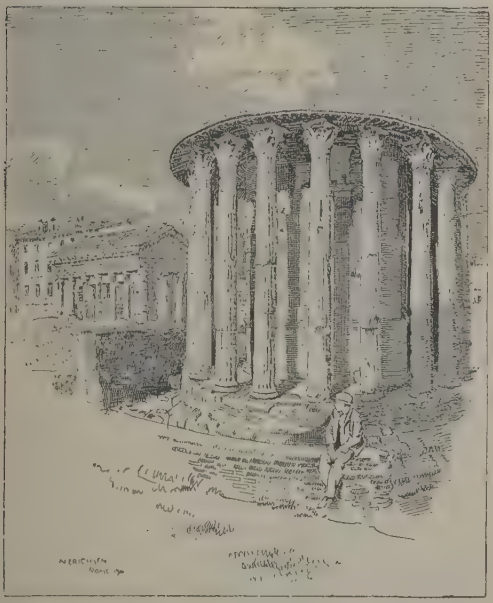
Outside the town the suburbs extended as far as Ostia, Tusculum, Tibur (Tivoli) and Veii. The whole of this area, the Campagna, was covered with houses, villas, parks and gardens. The largest villas, such as that of Hadrian at Tivoli, formed the nucleus of a village population of attendants and slaves. Temples and shrines were scattered about all over the Campagna. All the roads outside the walls, especially the Via Appia, were lined for miles of their length by a continuous series of monuments to the dead. The great aqueducts, on their way to fill the baths and fountains of the city, dropped some of their life-giving fluid in the fields of the cultivator, or the

ornamental gardens of the wealthy. Some of them have been repaired and help to make Rome even now one of the best watered of cities. She still possesses many fountains, which serve to recall the cataracts of water which formerly were poured into the marble city.

Little is left of all this magnificence. The Pantheon, used as a church; the Mausoleum of Hadrian, converted into the Castle of St. Angelo; the Arches of Constantine, Titus and Septimius Severus; the Colosseum; remains of the Baths of Caracalla, Titus, Trajan and Diocletian; the Basilica of Constantine; the ruined palaces on the Palatine; the Columns of Trajan and Marcus Aurelius; other smaller columns supporting pieces of the entablature of temples; the equestrian statue of Marcus Aurelius; the round temple in the Piazza Bocca della Verita; some arches of the aqueducts; here and there a piece of the Servian walls; a gate or two in the Aurelian walls; a few tombs and columbaria outside the city—these are the chief relics left to us. The Capitol itself has been swept so completely bare that, until a very recent date, archæologists disputed whether the great Temple of Jupiter originally stood on the eastern or the western summit of the hill.

Of the Middle Age still less remains. All the churches have been frequently restored. The following have mediæval cloisters:—S. Cosimato, the Lateran, S. Lorenzo Fuori, S. Paolo Fuori and S. Sabina. The campanili (bell-towers) are the least altered of mediæval monuments, few of them being later than the thirteenth century. There are a number of mosaics of mediæval design in the churches, but all have been restored. Of the towers which in the middle age covered the city, the Tor de Conti and Torre dell Milizie are almost all that is left.

Such as they are, the mediæval remains, when compared to the classic, have a curiously old-fashioned



THE ROUND TEMPLE IN THE PIAZZA BOCCA DELLA VERITA

aspect. They seem to come from a more barbarous, a remoter age. Visitors to Rome complain of the difficulty they find in separating works of one period from those of a later date. Pagan ruins may always be dis-

tinguished by their comparatively modern appearance. The modern world is nearer in spirit to the classic than to the mediæval. It is only in Rome, where classic and mediæval ruins stand side by side, that this strange and significant fact can be fully appreciated.

The destruction of pagan Rome has been brought about by many causes. Among the most potent has been the action of nature, either as sun, wind, rain, the growth of plants; or as inundation, frequent and disastrous, and earthquake—less common, but even more destructive. The earthquake of 1349 settled the fate of many tottering monuments. When once a building has begun to decay, the influence of such natural causes increases in geometrical progression. Even the monuments which have only recently been exposed by excavation have already begun to show the effects of weather. A deserted building will surely fall to pieces in time. The remains which still exist have been preserved by being buried under the earth, or by being repaired, or by having been used for a church or for a fortified tower. In their present condition further decay is inevitable, unless further restoration and protection are continuously given.

But though time alone would have brought all Roman buildings, exceptionally strong as they were, to a condition of ruin, the co-operation of man was necessary to clear the surface entirely, as, for instance, the Capitol has been cleared. On the final adoption of Christianity all the temples were closed. Some wanton assaults were made by zealous Christians on the symbols of the discarded religion, but their effect was not serious. The splendour of Rome was practically undiminished when in 410 Alaric allowed his followers a three days' sack. They carried away what portable plunder they

could collect, chiefly gold and silver ornaments and jewels taken from temples and statues, but had no object in wasting their time with deliberate destruction, and left the great edifices practically untouched. In 455 Genseric organised a methodical collection of all valuables, with which he loaded his ships. One vessel, having a cargo composed entirely of statues, foundered on its way to Carthage. Genseric, no doubt, did carry off gilded tiles from roofs, marble slabs from walls, and some of the smaller and more precious marble columns, in addition to gold, silver, bronze and jewellery; but he only allowed his men fourteen days, and must have left Rome still magnificent.

The Gothic wars of the sixth century did far more damage. When Belisarius was defending Rome against Vitiges, he repaired the walls with pieces of marble from the pagan buildings; and Vitiges, on his part, cut the aqueducts, whereby the baths and fountains were ruined. Rome has suffered many other sieges, and has frequently been sacked. A large part of the city in the Lateran quarter was deliberately set on fire and completely demolished by order of Robert Guiscard, the Norman, in 1084, during the struggle between Henry IV. and Gregory VII.

But these causes—the action of time, and the sieges and sacks of war—would not have sufficed to sweep away all trace of its great public buildings. When these edifices had become no longer suited to the wants of the inhabitants, and had begun to fall down and crumble to pieces, the citizens themselves hastened the process of destruction by using the shapeless masses lying about in every direction, for the erection of new buildings. That this practice had already become common by the middle of the fifth century we know from an edict of the Emperor Majorian:—

'We, the rulers of the State, with a view to restoring the beauty of our venerable city, desire to put an end to the abuses which have already long excited our indignation. It is well known that in several instances public buildings, in which all the ornament of the city consisted, have been destroyed with the criminal permission of the authorities, on the pretext that the materials were necessary for public works. The splendid structures of ancient buildings have been overthrown, and the great has everywhere been destroyed in order to erect the little. From this has risen the abuse that whoever has built a private house has, through the favour of the judges appointed by the city, presumed to appropriate the necessary materials from public buildings, whereas all such buildings as contribute to the splendour of the city should have been restored and upheld by the loving reverence of the citizens.'

Many times in her history have emperors, popes, and mediæval senators issued similar edicts. The republic of the Middle Ages decreed that death should be the punishment; but it was impossible to stop the pillage. The marble was burnt for conversion into lime, porphyry columns being used, on account of their hardness, to form kilns. Raphael reported to Leo X. (1503-13) that nearly every house in Rome was built with mortar made from this lime. When Rome was being rebuilt the great artists of the Renaissance not only picked up such marble as was lying about—fallen columns, statueless pedestals, broken walls, cracked pavements—for the decoration of their churches, but they would even pull down an entire building for the sake of any specially-desired piece. Though they went to classic models for their inspiration, they had no sentimental reverence for the merely old. When Michelangelo destroyed the Temple of Vesta in order

to beautify St. Peter's, he considered that he was substituting a perfect, or at least complete, work of art for one which had already lost its original virtues. He would have derided the notion that St. Peter's was to suffer that we might have a few more broken columns in the Basilica Ulpia, or another cartload of bricks on the Palatine.

In 1870 Rome once more began a new career. In the next thirty years the population doubled, in fifty years almost trebled. To accommodate this enormous increase, vast and hideous lodging-houses have been built where previously had been an old villa or palace, or a beautiful garden, or a vineyard. The streets have been widened, light and air have been brought into what were the most crowded and unhealthy quarters; the town has been supplied with excellent water, the drainage has been improved, and the periodic inundations of the river have been stopped by an expensive embankment. Notoriously pestilential for nearly two thousand years, Rome has now a lower death-rate than any town of similar size. The municipality may well be proud of its achievement.

On the other hand, it must be said that the new brooms have swept without discrimination. Archæologists and artists have reason to complain of the careless, almost wanton, manner in which the clearance has been effected. As a result, one of the most picturesque towns in the world has become, in some quarters at least, one of the ugliest. But though reform has been too indiscriminate, it is easy to understand the spirit which has inspired it. After many centuries of oppression, Rome has at last obtained her freedom. In order to deserve her title of eternal she must continue to live. This can only be done by clearing away the fallen leaves and putting forth fresh sprouts. Such restora-

tion pre-supposes destruction. Augustus, who found Rome brick and left it marble, was one of the first and greatest of all the destroyers. To create Imperial Rome he had to demolish Republican Rome, regardless of antiquarian protests.

The case of the artist against the municipality has thus been expressed by Mr W. J. Stillmann (*The Old Rome and the New*, 1897): 'In those days' (before 1870) 'the joyous fraternity of the brush were to be seen on every road that led into the Campagna at almost every season of the year. Down the Tiber, even within the city walls, pictures made to hand met the eye at every turn of the river; one found Claude and Turner wherever one went. But now,' he says, 'the vengeful lover of Old Rome sees with a malignant satisfaction the long rows of untenanted windows of the huge apartment houses over whose portals, newest in stucco and whitewash, he reads the last remnant of the language of the Romans, "Est locanda." . . . The transformation of Rome during the last twenty years is unique in the history of civilisation for barbarism, extravagance and corruption; never since the world began was so much money spent to do so much evil. . . . This pinchbeck Paris is only another illusion which time will dissipate, and Rome will be again what it has always been from its Republican days—a centre of attraction to a spiritual cosmopolitan population, never a centre of trade and business; and the people who know it are not those who are born in it, but those who are born to it and its liberties of thought.'

This quarrel between the archæologist, the artist and the municipality is well illustrated by what has happened in the Forum Romanum. Until recent times this was the Campo Vaccino, or field of cattle. Accumulations of soil had raised the surface about 50

feet above its classic level. In the centre was 'the nameless column with a buried base' (The Column of Diocletian) mentioned by Byron; an avenue of trees stretched from the Capitol to the Arch of Titus. Here were always to be found picturesque peasants with their cattle, and the attendant circle of artists in ecstasies.

The archæologist has converted this beautiful spot into a large pit, covered with pieces of stone and mounds of earth. He excuses himself by informing us that he has exposed the cradle of modern civilisation, and opened a new chapter in history. While artist and archæologist are disputing the municipality brushes them both aside. It brings from the Via Cavour a broad paved road, and carries it right across both Campo Vaccino and Forum Romanum. The artist flies in horror to the Palatine, while the archæologist bends his energies to the task of getting the whole area declared an archæological preserve.

One aspect of this quarrel has a peculiar interest for these pages. The story of Rome, from classic to modern times, is, in the main, a record of a contest between the city and the great world outside, for the glory and the power which lie in the prestige of the ancient capital of Europe. A Gothic king, a German emperor, an Italian pope, have fed and thriven upon the Roman name. Foreigners unite in asserting that Rome does not belong to the people who live in the town, but to the strangers from distant lands who swoop down upon the city as conquerors, and as arbiters of its needs. Rome, they say, belongs to mankind, not to the people who live there. This foreign influence has afflicted Rome ever since she became famous; it has placed tyrant after tyrant over her; it has made her history a unique record of revolutionary struggles for independ-

ence. And now that Rome at last is free, the echo of the long conflict is still heard in the growls of foreign artists, who would deny to the citizens the right to make their home a pleasant and healthy place in which to earn their livelihood.

THE MUNICIPAL ARMS OF ROME

CHAPTER II

The Triumphal Procession of Trajan to the Capitol

'Ibam forte Via Sacra, sicut meus est mos,
Nescio quid meditans nugarum, et totus in illis.'—*Horace.*

DURING the first century of the Christian era the Imperial throne was occupied by the relatives of Julius Cæsar and by Vespasian and his sons—by the aristocratic Julian Claudians, and by the plebeian Flavians. Gibbon says: 'It is almost superfluous to enumerate the unworthy successors of Augustus. Their unparalleled vices, and the splendid theatre in which they were acted, have saved them from oblivion. The dark, unrelenting Tiberius, the furious Caligula, the feeble Claudius, the profligate and cruel Nero, the beastly Vitellius, and the timid, inhuman Domitian, are condemned to everlasting infamy.' Murder or compulsory suicide was the fate of nearly all the first century emperors. Then came the golden age of the Antonines. Nerva adopted the Spaniard Trajan, naming him as his successor. Trajan adopted Hadrian, who adopted Antoninus and his successors, the brothers Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus. By adoption a succession of able rulers was obtained, men carefully selected and specially trained by being given a subordinate share in the government, during the reign of their adoptive father and educator. Gibbon's pane-

gyric on the Antonines begins as follows: 'If a man were called to fix the period in the history of the world during which the condition of the human race was most happy and prosperous, he would, without hesitation, name that which elapsed from the death of Domitian to the accession of Commodus. The vast extent of the Roman Empire was governed by absolute power, under the guidance of virtue and wisdom. The armies were restrained by the firm but gentle hand of four successive emperors, whose characters and authority commanded involuntary respect.'

The character of a Roman ruler may fairly be estimated from the length of his reign and the manner of his death. The average reign of a Roman emperor was four years, and his death, in the majority of cases, was brought about by assassination. The adoptive emperors, Trajan, Hadrian, Antoninus Pius and Marcus Aurelius, generally known as 'the Antonines,' controlled the destinies of the Empire for eighty-two successive years, and were allowed to die in peace of the diseases of old age—a signal proof of their beneficent administration.

Of these four emperors Trajan was the most warlike. By his conquest of Dacia (the land between the Danube and the Carpathians) he extended the Empire to its furthest limits; and in 107 A.D. celebrated in Rome a great triumph in honour of the event.

The triumph was one of the chief of the outdoor displays of which the Romans became so fond. It was the precursor of the gorgeous processions of the Middle Ages, when a German emperor was to be crowned, a Pope conducted to the Lateran, or a Senator escorted to the Capitol. It was the highest honour the State could bestow. The claims of a general were carefully examined by the senate before

so precious a privilege was accorded, and then only for the complete conquest of a public and foreign enemy. In the Republican period, when Rome was always at war, and always conquering, there were many more triumphs than under the Empire. Trajan was the last emperor with an aggressive foreign policy, and almost the last who enjoyed a triumph. In the 300 years before him there had been 300 triumphs. After him 60 years elapsed before the triumph of Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus; and 100 years intervened between the triumphs of Diocletian and Honorius. After Trajan the honour was never fairly earned. All the wars subsequent to his time were defensive or internecine. The Roman armies were engaged either in repelling a barbaric invasion or in subduing a rebellious province or in attacking each other.

On the night before his triumph the general and his soldiers slept in the Campus Martius, between the modern Corso and the Tiber. Next morning the senate proceeds in a body to greet the hero, who musters his soldiers and makes them a speech. Then the procession is formed and is led into the city by the senators, marching at the head. The Porta Triumphalis, closed at other times, now opens for the entry of the triumphator. (The Roman Church adopted this idea when it closed the Porta Santa in the major basilicas at all times except during Jubilee year.) Behind the senate come the trumpeters. Then follow the spoils of war, either in chariots and waggons, or carried by slaves. They comprise gold and silver coin, cups of precious metal, jewels, statues, arms, helmets, cuirasses, spears, bridles, captured flags and trophies, and pictures of the conquered cities. Then follow the sacrificial animals, a hundred white oxen with gilded horns, attended by priests carrying the sacred vessels.

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After them a number of strange animals from the conquered country, perhaps lions, or tigers, elephants, giraffes, deer. Behind these walk the principal captives in chains—Jugurtha, the victim of Marius; Vercingetorix, put to death by Julius Cæsar; the eastern beauty Zenobia, conquered by Aurelian. Then come the lictors of the general in red tunics, their fasces wreathed with laurel, and the *citharistæ* or *ludiones*, dancing and singing, immediately in front of the chariot, drawn by four white horses, in which stands the hero. His tunic and toga are of purple embroidered with gold; in his right hand he carries a branch of laurel, in his left an ivory sceptre topped by an eagle; and his head is garlanded with laurel. Over his head a slave holds a gold wreath representing leaves of laurel or oak. That the hero may not become mad with pride, it is the duty of the slave to whisper in his ear, 'Respice post te. Hominem te memento.' ('Look behind. Remember that you are but a man.') After him come his soldiers, their spears adorned with laurel, or carrying palms, and singing songs of triumph.

After entering the city the procession passes through the Forum Boarium (between the Capitol and the river), and then encircles the Palatine, marching through the Circus Maximus (where now are the gasworks). This immense circus is said by Pliny to have been capable of accommodating 250,000 persons, a number which, in the time of the later Empire, is said to have been increased to the fabulous total of 380,000. Huelsen thinks that 150,000 would be nearer the truth. Whatever may have been its exact seating capacity, it was, as Middleton says, the most magnificent building in the world, covered, inside and out, with marble, gilding, painting, mosaic, and statues of white marble and gilt bronze. The only memento

of all this splendour is the obelisk in the Piazza del Popolo, which stood in the centre of the circus.

Public shows were so popular among the Romans that in Republican times the chief officials found it necessary to secure their positions by lavish expenditure upon these exhibitions, which lasted from sunrise to sunset, sometimes for weeks together. The enormous outlay required, prevented many able men from accepting office.

The *stadium* was used for foot-races and athletic contests, the circus for chariot and other horse races, and the amphitheatre for gladiatorial combats. Remains of a stadium may be seen on the Palatine between the palaces of Augustus and Severus; the form of the circus is preserved in the ruins of the Circus of Maxentius on the Via Appia Antica, near the tomb of Cecilia Metella; and the great amphitheatre is now the Colosseum.

The course in the circus was seven times round, the completion of each lap being marked by removing a marble egg from the spina, the low platform running down the centre. Frequent accidents occurred in turning the end of the spina, but the successful drivers, men of low social position, earned large sums. They were divided into four permanent organisations, known by their colours, the red, white, blue and green. Of these the blues and greens were the most successful, and their rivalry came in time to be the only question of any interest to the Romans. The despotism of the emperors prevented the citizens from taking any share in the internal or external affairs of the State. Their thoughts were concentrated on the public shows, in which they still had a predominant voice. There were the usual features incident to horse races: heavy betting, with

its backers, bookmakers and welshers, doctoring of horses, and dishonest drivers. The Emperors Nero and Commodus took part in the competitions.

As the great pageant passed through the circus, crowded by sightseers to its utmost limit, it was watched by a large and aristocratic assemblage on the Palatine; and it then turned to the left, along the valley which separates the Palatine from the Cælian, at the end of which, two centuries later, the Arch of Constantine was erected, after his victory over Maxentius at the Milvian Bridge (Ponte Molle) in 312. This arch is the most modern and the best preserved of all the buildings which remain of the Imperial period. Probably it owes its preservation to the Christianity of its hero. The statue on the Capitoline Hill, now known to represent Marcus Aurelius, has survived, owing to the belief entertained throughout the Middle Ages that it was a portrait of the first Christian emperor; and the Basilica of Constantine, which still retains some of its original form, may owe its continued existence to the name with which it is associated. The inscription on the arch, on the side nearest the Colosseum, is—

IMP. CAES. FL. CONSTANTINO MAXIMO
P.F. AVGVSTO. S.P.Q.R.
QVOD. INSTINCTV. DIVINITATIS. MENTIS.
MAGNITVDINE. CVM EXERCITV. SVO.
TAM. DE. TYRANNO. QVAM. DE. OMNI. EIVS.
FACTIONE. VNO TEMPORE. IVSTIS.
REMPVBLICAM. VLTVS. EST. ARMIS.
ARCVM. TRIVMPHANS. INSIGNEM. DICAVIT.

(To Emperor Cæsar Flavius Constantinus Maximus, the Pious, the Fortunate, Augustus, the Senate and People of Rome have dedicated in triumph this noble arch, because, by the inspiration of God and the great-

THE ARCH OF CONSTANTINE & S. FRANCESCA ROMANA

ness of his mind, he, by means of his legions and just arms, avenged the Republic, not only on the tyrant, but also at one time on all his faction.)

The words *instinctu divinitatis* were probably agreed upon by the senate in the hope of satisfying both Pagans and Christians, each religion placing its own construction on the meaning of the term '*divinitas*' —divinity, God. Over the reliefs in the interior are the words—

LIBERATORI. VRBIS.
FVNDATORI. QVIETIS.

The aspirations of the Romans for liberation and quiet were satisfied for the moment by Constantine. But the subsequent career of the city is unique in history for its long record of tyranny and revolution.

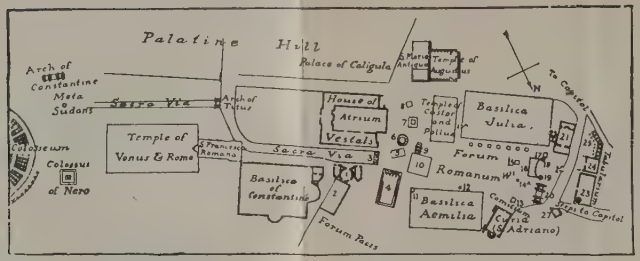
The general appearance of the arch is so good, and the reliefs upon it of Constantine's era are so poor, that its design and proportion have been assumed to be an imitation of an arch of the time of Trajan. Seven of the eight fluted Corinthian columns are of *giallo antico* (Numidian marble), the eighth, that nearest the Forum, having been removed to the Lateran by Clement VIII. and replaced by one of white marble. *Giallo antico*, from Numidia and Libya in North Africa, is of a deep yellow colour with tints of orange and pink. It was much used in Rome for columns and the linings of walls. These columns stand upon pedestals, and they also carry pedestals upon which are statues of Dacian prisoners. These figures are of the time of Trajan, with the exception of the one on the left nearest the Palatine; and all the heads and hands are restorations.

The four rectangular reliefs on each face of the attic, with one on each flank, and one on each side of the central vault, are of Trajan's time. The

two on each flank, with the two under the central arch, belonged originally to one continuous series. It began with the central panel on the left (towards the Cælian) which represents Trajan crowned by Victory; the second in the series is on the attic towards the Cælian, and the third is under the central arch towards the Palatine—both these exhibit fighting between the Roman cavalry and the Dacians; the fourth panel, on the attic towards the Palatine, shows the Dacian prisoners before Trajan.

The rectangular reliefs on the two faces are in the following order:—From the Colosseum side, the first on the left of the spectator represents Trajan greeted on his triumphal entry into Rome by the goddess Roma, with the garlanded Temple of Mars in the background. The second is an allegorical allusion to the construction of a road through the Pontine Marshes in 110; Trajan stands before a reclining figure with a wheel, the Roman symbol for a road. The third shows Trajan distributing food to the children of the poor, a charity which he inaugurated in 99. The last panel on the right exhibits a barbarian chief doing homage to Trajan. Below these rectangular reliefs are four medallions representing alternately hunting and sacrificial scenes. In the first, on the left, Trajan on horseback follows a boar; in the second he offers a libation to Apollo; in the next he stands over a dead lion; and in the fourth he sacrifices to Jupiter. On the left, below the medallions and above the lower left arch, is a long panel of the time of Constantine, which gives an interesting view of the rostra and the Forum. In the centre of the rostra is the figure of Constantine, the upper part destroyed. At each end of the rostra, raised on a pedestal, is a seated statue. On the rostra, listening to the discourse of the emperor, are the leading citizens, and below, in the Forum, the

FROM COLOSSEUM TO CAPITOL



1. Temple of Romulus.
2. Temple of the Sacred City (now SS. Cosma e Damiano).
3. Arch of Fabius.
4. Temple of Antoninus and Faustina (now S. Lorenzo in Miranda).
5. Regia.
6. Temple of Vesta.
7. Fountain of Juturna.
8. Shrine of Juturna.
9. Arch of Augustus.
10. Temple and Rostra of Julius Cæsar.
11. Inscription to Lucius Cæsar.
12. Shrine of Venus Cloacina.
13. Niger Lapis.
14. Plutei.
14A. Inscription to Stilicho.
15. Column of Phocas.
16. Rostra of Domitian.
17. Republican Rostra.
18. Golden Milestone.
19. Umbilicus Romæ.
20. Arch of Severus.
21. Temple of Saturn.
22. Arch of Tiberius.
22A. Vicus Tuscus.
23. Temple of Concord.
24. Temple of Vespasian.
25. Porticus Deorum Consentium.
26. Clivus Capitolinus.
27. Mamertine Prison.

people. On the left, in the background, are four arches of the Basilica Julia, then the Arch of Tiberius; then behind the rostra five columns surmounted by statues, and on the right the arch of Septimius Severus. On the side of the Arch of Constantine, facing the Via S. Gregorio, the rectangular relief on the attic to the left of the spectator shows Trajan receiving a barbarian chief, and the second panel also has Trajan receiving Dacian captives, with Decebalus their king. The inscription in the centre of the attic is a repetition of that on the other face. The third panel represents Trajan standing on a platform haranguing his soldiers; and the last on the right shows Trajan pouring a libation on to a tripod altar, while a boar, a ram and a bull are led to the sacrifice of the Suovetaurilia. The medallions continue the series of alternate hunting and sacrificial scenes. On the left, Trajan standing by his horse is ready to start for the chase; then he sacrifices before a statue of Hercules; the third panel shows him on horseback pursuing a bear; and the last, pouring a libation on to an altar before a statue of Diana, as a thank-offering for success in the hunt.

While the great procession was marching along the Via Triumphalis there was no arch here to impede the view of the Meta Sudans and the Colosseum. The Meta Sudans was a tall, cone-shaped fountain, covered with marble, the water rising in one stream from the interior to the top, and falling over the cone so as to completely cover it. Some remains of the brick wall are still *in situ*.

The Colosseum, now the most famous ruin in the world, was long known as the Flavian Amphitheatre, Flavius being the family name of the emperors who were concerned in its erection—Vespasian, who commenced it in A.D. 72, and his sons, Titus, who opened it in 80, and Domitian who completed it. This was the

first considerable building erected after the time of Augustus for the use of the public. Some of the Claudian emperors had a bad name for selfish extravagance. Vespasian was the first emperor not of noble birth, and was anxious to gain popularity for himself and his family in spite of their plebeian origin. He made magnificent restitution to the public for one of Nero's most daring encroachments. The immense Golden House of Nero, with its parks and lakes, rested on the Palatine, the Cælian and the Esquiline Hills, covering up the Sacra Via and the entrance to the Forum. Vespasian demolished it almost completely, erecting the Colosseum on the site of the great lake; and his son Titus dedicated to the public the baths he constructed over that part of Nero's house which lay upon the Esquiline. Thus the epithet Flavius came to be an expression of praise, and was adopted by several emperors. The inscription on the Arch of Constantine gives the emperor the three most laudatory attributes, by describing him as Cæsar, Augustus, and Flavius.

In its size, its massive solidity, its orderly arrangement and practical utility, its disdain of fine ornament or elegant decoration, the relentless brutality of its purpose, the plain, severe character of its founder—in all these respects the Colosseum is the most typically Roman of all buildings. In shape it is an ellipse; the longest diameter from the Forum to the Lateran is very nearly the length of St. Peter's; the circumference is one-third of a mile. The exterior is formed of large blocks of travertine, set without mortar, but clamped together with bars of iron. The surface is now covered with holes made in the Middle Ages in order to extract the coveted metal. The building has four storeys. The three lower storeys were built with arches, eighty in number, supported by piers faced with half columns. The fourth storey, added by Gordian

III. in the third century, is a solid wall faced with pilasters. The lowest storey is of the Doric order, the second is Ionic, the third Corinthian and the fourth Composite; but the capitals of the columns are roughly carved—which has been explained by the suggestion that possibly the whole façade may originally have been covered with stucco. Each of the arches of the second and third tiers was adorned with a statue. The cornice at the top of the building, 160 feet from the ground, had square holes cut in it for the insertion of wooden masts, the lower ends of which rested upon a large travertine corbel projecting from the wall, 14 feet lower down. These masts, with others at regular intervals down the steps on the inside, supported the awning, which stretched down to, but did not cover the arena.

The building could hold 50,000 seated spectators, arranged in tiers corresponding to the external storeys. Nearest the arena was the podium, a marble platform with marble thrones for the Vestals, senators and other religious and lay officials of high rank. Above the podium was the emperor's throne, between columns and under a canopy. There were two Imperial entrances, one from the Cælian, the other from the Esquiline, each leading to a throne. Above the podium there were marble steps, every second step forming a row of numbered seats, for the use of which a ticket was necessary. The most careful and explicit directions were given by special laws as to the classes who were entitled to these seats. Above the more honourable seats rose a wall separating them from those still further up. The topmost seats were protected by a roof supported by columns. Here sat the women and the lower classes. Even the Vestals were removed to this part during some of the exhibitions. As no ticket was required for the gallery, it was necessary, in order

to get a good seat there, to be at the amphitheatre before sunrise. On the roof of the gallery were stationed the sailors, whose business it was to place the awning in position, and move it to suit the wishes of the spectators. The air was cooled by fountains scented with saffron and other perfumes. The show lasted through the whole day, making it necessary to distribute food among the people. In the hot mid-day hours sham combats and other buffooneries relieved the dark tragedy, for the main business was the spectacle of human beings slaughtering one another in cold blood 'to make a Roman holiday.'

The arena was so called because it was covered with sand, which sucked up the blood and gave the fighters a firm footing. Under the sand was a wooden platform or stage, through which cages containing animals could be raised from below. The whole of the area under the building was arranged to accommodate the wild beasts and their attendants, with the scenery and stage properties. This spot having originally been a lake lying between hills, the arena would constantly have been under water but for the practical skill of the Romans in scientific underground drainage. The unknown architect deserves credit for the solidity of his foundations, which have carried his enormous building, in marshy ground, for so many centuries.

Most of the Roman public buildings, their temples, basilicas, and baths, were imitations of Greek models. The amphitheatre was a Roman invention. Two wooden theatres were placed back to back and made to move upon pivots, so that when they were turned they formed an amphi, or double, theatre. A histrionic performance having been given in each theatre, it was then turned round, with its spectators, and in the central pit so formed, gladiators fought.

From the earliest times the shedding of blood has

been regarded as a meritorious act, pleasing to the gods. Blood, without which there is no life, was the most valuable of all possible offerings. Human sacrifices, when abandoned by the Greeks, were still continued by the Etruscans, especially at the funeral of an important person. This custom was followed in Rome from the earliest times. The victims were slaves. As the Romans increased in wealth and conquests, and their slaves became numerous, it was considered wasteful and unnecessary to kill all a man's slaves on his death. Some were spared for the use of the heir. These would naturally be taken from the strongest and most capable. In order to test the relative value of the slaves, to furnish a funeral entertainment for the friends of the deceased, and at the same time to offer the necessary sacrifices to the gods, the slaves were made to fight, and thus to select, by the ordeal of battle, the weakest among them as a blood-offering. The first recorded combat of this sort was exhibited in the Forum Boarium by Marcus and Decimus Brutus, in 264 B.C., at the funeral of their father. The great popularity of the entertainment led to the special training of the strongest slaves, and thus to organised displays, at first in the Forum Romanum, afterwards in the amphitheatre, the circus being too large and long to give every spectator a good view. The fighters were originally slaves, prisoners of war and condemned criminals. Under the Empire, when large expenditure upon these shows had become necessary in order to please the populace and obtain political preferment, many of the poorer or more desperate characters among the free men were tempted by the high pay offered, and thus raised this kind of fighting—homicide for its own sake — to the dignity of a profession. The gladiator was, however, always regarded as only just above the slave in social position. In Imperial times,

besides the Emperor Commodus himself, senators, knights, and even women sometimes fought.

A large mosaic floor, containing portraits of gladiators, has been removed from the Baths of Caracalla to the Lateran Museum, where it is placed, curiously enough, in the Christian portion. There is another similar floor in the Borghese Villa. These mosaics are interesting for the costumes they depict, and for the animal appearance they give to the gladiators. As Story well says :—'Their brutal and bestial physiognomies, their huge, over-developed muscles and Atlantean shoulders, their low, flat foreheads and noses are hideous to behold, and give one a more fearful and living notion of the horror of those bloody games to which they were trained than any description in words could convey. They make one believe that of all animals none can be made so brutal as man.'

The gladiators marched into the amphitheatre in procession, by the entrances at the Forum and Lateran ends. Those who were forced into the arena to fight, not as professional gladiators, but as criminals whose lives were already forfeited, marched up to the Imperial tribune and saluted the emperor with the words, 'Ave Cæsar, morituri te salutant!' ('Hail, Cæsar, those about to die salute thee!'). Similar customs continue at bull-fights in Spain, where the torreros enter the ring in stately procession and salute the president.

When a gladiator was incapacitated by a wound, the people shouted '*Habet!*' and if they wished the wounded man to be killed by his adversary, they turned up their thumbs. If, however, as would frequently be the case, he had fought well, he was spared. The verdict of the Vestals, who sat near the emperor, often decided the question; but neither they nor Cæsar ventured to resist the definite decisions of the people.

Being built upon the bed of a lake, the amphitheatre

could easily be flooded with water, when nautical combats were exhibited, and the spectators could watch the gradually-failing struggles of the drowning.

The *bestiarius* was specially trained to fight against beasts of all kinds brought from every known country in the world. Sometimes the arena would be laid out with trees and mounds, where every species of strange animal would be let loose, forming a sort of zoological garden. The animals were introduced in a ravenous condition and encouraged to fight with each other. At the great inaugural shows given by Titus there was a combat of cranes. Criminals who had incurred the popular resentment in an especial degree, such as the Christians, were exposed, unarmed and defenceless, to the wildest beasts, who tore and ate the living flesh, and crunched the bones before the delighted eyes of the spectators seated on the marble thrones.

The number of Christian martyrs has been enormously exaggerated by ecclesiastical writers. Even of those Christians who were executed, many were not exposed in the amphitheatre, but beheaded elsewhere. Those who were so exposed, refused to fight, whether against each other or against the beasts. They were done to death by every imaginable cruelty, all the while defying their tormentors in a spirit of heroic obstinacy. It was the object of the Roman Government to make the Christian publicly admit the practical impotence of his God to save him from the clutches of the Pagans. The Christians, on the other hand, knowing that their life in this world was at an end, believing most implicitly in a future existence of glory and happiness, and being for the most part men of obstinate and determined character who had already refused to recant their opinions, were inspired by a spiritual exaltation which no physical pain could subdue. It is impossible to imagine a spectacle of greater human

interest. The victim, torn to pieces by ferocious beasts, burnt alive, or patiently enduring the long agonies of crucifixion: the spectators, fascinated by the heartrending tragedy, hardened as they were to the sight of human suffering, yet scarcely able to repress the inevitable call for pity and admiration; until at last the death and triumph of the heroic sufferer gave every man present a sense of impotence and of defeat.

Human compassion, we may be sure, was felt by individuals in every part of the audience, perhaps even by the majority, though overcome by cowardice, stifled by the tyranny of public opinion. The Christians were the real victors at these scenes. At one time, martyrdom in the Colosseum was a prize for which they eagerly competed. The public exposure in the Colosseum, far from being a deterrent, had a large influence in spreading the new Faith. The imagination of the whole world was powerfully affected by the wonderful tales of heroism and baffled cruelty, which came from every amphitheatre throughout the Roman Empire.

One of the earliest and best-authenticated martyrs was St. Ignatius, whom legend has identified with the child blessed by Christ, and presented to the disciples as a type of humility. When Bishop of Antioch, St. Ignatius was brought before Trajan there. He refused to worship the Pagan gods, and was sent to Rome to be devoured by lions in the amphitheatre. The large bones only were left. These were carefully collected; and they lie now under the high altar of the church of S. Clemente.

St. Augustine relates that in about the year 390 a certain Alipius, dragged against his will to the show, kept his eyes firmly shut for a time, until the shouts of the people at an exceptionally exciting event overcame his curiosity. Once having gazed upon the appalling

scene he became as fascinated as the rest, and never again failed to present himself in good time to take his seat.

Christianity has abolished the gladiator. In this, as in many other respects, the cultured Pagan was in sympathy with the religion of Christ. To Cicero, mere killing for its own sake had no attraction. More than a hundred years before the Colosseum had been commenced he said of the fights between men and beasts exhibited by Pompey in his theatre :—

'Magnificae nemo negat ; sed quae potest esse homini polito delectatio, quum aut homo imbecillus a valentissima bestia laniatur, aut praeclara bestia venabulo transverberatur.' ('Magnificent are these shows, nobody denies it, but what delight can it be for a refined mind to see a feeble man torn by a powerful beast, or a noble animal pierced with a javelin?') Marcus Aurelius issued an unpopular order that the gladiators were to fight against each other with blunted weapons only ; and on one occasion when, seated on the Imperial throne in the Colosseum, he turned from the performance to busy himself with State papers, his attention was brought back to the death struggle before him by the murmurs of disapproval which arose from all parts of the amphitheatre. To Cicero, killing was vulgar and ugly ; to Marcus Aurelius it was giving way to the lower passions ; to the Christian it was fratricide. There is a substantial difference between these views. The cultured Pagan disapproved, but only from consideration of what was seemly in the victor. The Christian's concern was for the victim.

Constantine, and several of his Christian successors, endeavoured to get rid of the gladiators, but the Romans had tasted blood and would not leave their prey. At last, in 403, an Eastern monk, Telemachus, who had come to Rome for the express purpose of protesting against the exhibition, rushed into the arena

and separated the combatants. He was set upon by the officials and spectators, and killed on the spot, but a general feeling of disapproval was at last aroused, and the fighting of men with men was stopped, though only for a time. Justinian finally, in the sixth century, put an end to the shedding of human blood, whether by men or by beasts.

In the tenth century the Colosseum formed part of the Frangipani fortress. In 1332, when the Papal Court was at Avignon, a great bull-fight took place here, in which no less than eighteen young Roman nobles were killed by the bulls. Then it became the chief quarry for builders. In 1675 a chapel was built within the ruins by Clement X.; and Benedict XIV., in 1749, erected a plain wooden cross in the centre, with fourteen painted shrines around it, for the stations of the 'Via Crucis.'

The famous Latin prophecy runs:—

'Quamdiu stabit Coliseus, stabit et Roma; quando cadet Coliseus, cadet et Roma; quando cadet Roma, cadet et mundus.'

As Byron has it:—

'While stands the Colosseum, Rome shall stand,
When falls the Colosseum, Rome shall fall,
And when Rome falls, the world.'

The Dacian captives who walked in front of their conqueror must have looked up at the great building with terror in their hearts, for there they were doomed to fight after the triumphal ceremony. Trajan celebrated his victory by shows, in which 10,000 men fought and 11,000 animals were slaughtered.

Behind the Colosseum Trajan saw the magnificent Baths of Titus, of which some fragments still remain; and beyond them the baths he had himself erected, still to be seen in the gardens of the Sette Salle. He

then turned up towards the Capitol, over the road which was afterwards covered by the Temple of Venus and Rome. Below the remains of the temple, and facing the Colosseum, we can see the arches leading to subterranean chambers, where were stored the scenic paraphernalia to be used in the shows of the amphitheatre.

In the time of Trajan, the Arch of Titus and the Colossus of Nero (a gilt bronze statue 120 feet high), stood nearer the site now occupied by the church of S. Francesca Romana. They were removed by Hadrian to make room for the Temple of Venus and Rome, the arch being placed in its present position, and the colossus on the large square pedestal near the Colosseum, of which some remains may still be identified.

The Temple of Venus and Rome, the largest and one of the grandest in Rome, was designed by Hadrian, its peculiarity being the placing of two *cellae* (temple-chambers) back to back, one being dedicated to Venus Felix, the other to Roma Aeterna. Dion Cassius tells us that Hadrian, who prided himself on his architectural taste and skill, showed his plan to Apollodorus, the great artist who created the wonders of Trajan's Forum; and when Apollodorus pointed out that the statues of Venus and Rome, seated figures, were so large that they would not be able to stand up without striking the roof, Hadrian ordered his immediate execution. It is an improbable tale. Hadrian had little resemblance to Nero.

Trajan now passed under the triumphal arch erected by Domitian to commemorate the capture of Jerusalem by his brother, Titus. As it now stands the arch is the work of Valadier, who, in 1822, took it entirely to pieces and rebuilt it. The travertine which he used is easily distinguished from the pentelic marble remains of

the original edifice. On the inner jambs are two fine reliefs. One represents Titus crowned by Victory in his triumphal quadriga, the horses led by Roma. On the other side the spoils of the Temple of Jerusalem are being carried-- the golden seven-branched candlestick, the golden table for shewbread, and the silver trumpets. These sacred and valuable objects were deposited by Vespasian in the Temple of Peace, whence they were taken by Genseric to Carthage in 455. When Belisarius defeated the Vandals he recaptured them and sent them to Constantinople. On the centre of the vault of the arch is a relief of the apotheosis of Titus borne aloft by an eagle. The external frieze represents oxen being led to sacrifice. The capitals of the columns are the earliest existing examples of the unsatisfactory composite order.

In the Middle Ages this arch was used by the Frangipani to form part of their great fortress, in which were also included the Colosseum and the Septizonium.

Trajan now descended the Sacra Via, the famous street along which Horace was sauntering, in accordance with his custom, totally absorbed in dreamy thoughts, when he met the bore whom he has immortalised in the poem from which the lines quoted at the head of this chapter are taken.

The original Sacra Via was a short lane connecting the Forum with the Summa Sacra Via, the ridge between the Forum and the Colosseum. The name was afterwards applied to the entire length of the road from the Capitol to the Esquiline Hill. When Trajan marched up the incline from the Colosseum in order to pass under the Arch of Titus, he went over that part of the pavement which has been recently exposed just N. of the present position of the arch.

After the erection of the Temple of Venus and

THE · ARCH ·
OF · TITVS.

Rome by Hadrian, and the removal of the Arch of Titus to its present site, the Sacra Via was also turned to pass under the arch.

As Trajan now stood on the summit, on the incline which the primitive shepherds had found so useful as an approach for their flocks to the settlement on the Palatine Hill, on his right were private houses and warehouses for Oriental spices, where now stand the remains of the basilica commenced by Maxentius and finished by his conqueror, Constantine. This great building had a central nave with two aisles, the eastern of which, with its three gigantic arches, each 60 feet in span, is all that now remains. The central existing arch was backed by an apsidal end, where stood a colossal statue of Constantine and four other statues in niches on each side of it. The concrete roof, decorated with octagonal coffers containing central rosettes, was painted and gilded. A piece of the springing of the vault which spread over the great hall remains apparently hanging in the air. This fragment originally rested on a large Corinthian column, and its stability, now that the support has been removed, is due to the wonderful strength of the concrete which connects it with the wall behind. One of these enormous fluted marble columns which supported the vault now stands in front of the Basilica of S. M. Maggiore, whither it was moved by Paul V. (Borghese) in 1613. At the front of the basilica, towards the Sacra Via, were a number of fine columns of red porphyry, and a long flight of marble steps leading up from the road. Porphyry, from its power of resisting fire, was used in the Middle Ages to form the kiln in which the softer marbles were reduced to lime.

As Trajan proceeded down the narrow street he passed on his right the Templum Sacrae Urbis, which now forms part of the church of SS. Cosma

e Damiano. A passage leads on the left of the Basilica of Constantine to the back of the church. After the great fire in the reign of Commodus, Rome was considerably rebuilt by Septimius Severus, and a fresh register of the ownership of property in the new streets was made. To help the citizens in identifying their plots, a marble plan of Rome was affixed to the back wall of this temple. Some fragments were discovered at the foot of the wall in the sixteenth century, and others in recent times. The floor of the Forum Pacis has recently been exposed here, showing a beautiful pavement of coloured marbles. A large fragment of concrete, with part of a staircase, has fallen here from the Basilica of Constantine.

Facing the Sacra Via, and now forming part of the church of SS. Cosma e Damiano, is the circular temple erected in the fourth century by Maxentius to the memory of his son Romulus, who had died at the age of four. The handsome doorway is flanked by two red porphyry columns which support a carved entablature, richly ornamented. This doorway and the bronze doors were taken from some building of an earlier date.

Near the temple of Romulus was the Arch of Fabius, erected to Quintus Fabius Maximus in B.C. 121, inferior in size and grandeur to the later arches. It stood at the furthest end of the Forum. Cicero gives a picture of the crowding all along the Sacra Via, and especially at this point, where he says: 'When I am jostled in a crowd, as often happens, I do not blame the man who is at the top of the Sacred Way while I am being pushed about near the Fabian Arch, but the person who actually runs against me and pushes me.' It used to be said of any man who had exaggerated ideas of his own importance that he lowered his head under the Arch of Fabius on his way

to the Forum. Having passed under this arch, Trajan stood upon the Forum, but his view of it was greatly impeded by the Regia and by the temple of the deified Julius in his front; to his left was the House of the Vestals; above that the great range of splendid edifices on the Palatine, most conspicuous being the Palace of Caligula. The Temple of Antoninus and Faustina, now the church of S. Lorenzo in Miranda, on the near right, was not then in existence. The inscription shows that it was erected in honour of Antoninus Pius and his wife Faustina. The chief remains are ten fine columns of *cipollino* (Carystian marble) with Corinthian capitals of white marble. The frieze of white marble is decorated with good reliefs of griffins, candelabra and vases. In the side walls of the church may still be seen the grey *peperino* of the ancient temple.

Here, at the E. end of the façade of the temple, has been found a prehistoric cemetery. The earliest graves, dating from before 1000 B.C., contained ashes in jars, or in hut urns, clay models of the primitive house. In some later graves the body was found buried in a hollowed-out tree. Amongst them were dishes, bowls, and vases, even the oldest of them showing Greek influence, which had contained offerings of fish, grapes with small seeds, corn, honey, salt, wine. Beads, bracelets, necklaces, were also found; and the bones of a suckling colt arranged in a circle, with the head in the centre, an offering for the growth of the crops. The cemetery must have served the pre-Romulean inhabitants of the hills above it.

Near it some cells were discovered in 1902, which may have formed part of a prison.

Nearer to the Palatine are the foundations, recently excavated, of the Regia, the public office of the Pontifex Maximus. It was a very sacred place, in which religious rites of a solemn character were carried

out by the Pontifices and Vestals. Here were kept the sacred spears of Mars, and the public documents and records of the Fasti. The recent excavations have exposed tufa remains of the Republic : a well of the same period : and a Byzantine house facing the Temple of Antoninus and Faustina.

Under the Palatine is the House of the Vestals. Outside the main entrance are remains of a small shrine, which may have contained a statue of Vesta. Two columns supported an entablature of which the architrave and frieze are the only original parts now existing. The practice of placing shrines of domestic gods at the corners of streets was greatly encouraged by Augustus ; their number in the time of Constantine reached 424. The Christians imitated the Pagan example. In 1853 over 3000 small chapels of this nature were registered in Rome.

The House of the Vestals was one of the most richly ornamented, best warmed, and most luxurious in Rome. Part of the Palatine Hill was cut away and a large area levelled, to make room for it. Portions of the older house have recently been discovered, but most of the remains are of the time of Septimius Severus. The peristyle was like a two-storeyed cloister, the forty-eight columns of the lower storey consisting of *cipollino* marble (white with green streaks), the forty-eight of the upper storey of red *breccia corallina*. Between each of these columns was a statue of a Vestal. The walls were lined with beautiful marbles. In the centre of the court the outline remains of a small formal flower-garden. Beyond this was a marble-lined tank, filled every day with sacred water, brought, as Middleton suggests, from the fountain of Egeria, for the use of the Vestals in their lustral rites. In accordance with the primitive religious prejudice against the use of metal for any purpose, the Vestals

were not allowed lead pipes for water, nor might iron tools be used for building or repairing their house. At religious ceremonies clay vessels of archaic shape were employed, instead of cups of silver or gold. Two other tanks have been found. At the end of the court is the *tablinum* or parlour, which must have been a beautiful room, the pavement and walls decorated with coloured marbles. On each side are three rooms, which may have been for the six Vestals, but Lanciani thinks they would have been too damp and unhealthy; the bed and bath-rooms were on the upper floor. When the Palatine was covered with immensely high buildings the House of the Vestals obtained very little sunshine, and its situation under the hill made elaborate arrangements for heating and ventilation a necessity.

The recent excavations have disclosed some fine marble floors, and also a number of gold coins of the fourth and fifth centuries, which had probably been brought here for safekeeping. A similar find had previously been made here of silver coins of Alfred, Edward, Athelstan and other Anglo-Saxon kings.

Much also has been learnt of the adjoining Temple of Vesta by the latest excavations. In the centre of the solid foundations a four-sided space was found, with walls faced in brick; and also a large number of bones of the sacrificial animals—the sheep, ox and pig—with ashes and pieces of charred juniper, fragments of vases and votive statues of terra-cotta. The temple area was enclosed by a wall of tufa blocks. In the temple were kept the Palladium, saved from Troy by Æneas, other venerated relics and important public documents, and the Sacred Fire. In primitive times when the men went out on a hunting expedition, a fire was kept burning in the camp under the care of girls, so as to save the trouble of re-lighting,

which could only be done by the laborious friction of dried sticks. Similar fires guarded by elderly widows were kept burning in every Greek city. It was the duty of the Vestals, as guardians of the symbolical city-hearth, to keep their fire burning in the Temple of Vesta. This fire was purposely extinguished on New Year's Day (March 1st), and re-lighted by the Pontifex Maximus. In modern Rome the candles at the altar of a church are extinguished and re-lit on New Year's Day.

The Vestal was chosen from a large number of candidates by the Pontifex Maximus. She was of noble birth, with both parents living, and free from any physical defect. Entering upon her training between the ages of six and ten, she became a Vestal for thirty years; the first ten years were spent in learning her duties, the second ten in performing them, and the third ten in teaching the novices. If she allowed the fire to go out she was flogged. If she broke her vow of chastity she was buried alive in a subterranean chamber at a spot on the Quirinal Hill near the Porta Collina; she was given a burning lamp, one loaf of bread and a little milk and water, so as to prolong the agonies of pain and remorse.

The first example of the infliction of this punishment is the legendary case of Rhea Silvia, the mother of Romulus and Remus; and one of the last was the chief Vestal Cornelia, who was tried and condemned by Domitian, as Pontifex Maximus, not, as the law directed, in the Regia, but in his own Alban villa. Her supposed lover was flogged to death on the Comitium.

The Vestal had many privileges, and much influence in secular as well as religious matters. Her evidence in a court of law nearly always carried the verdict, and

her voice was seldom raised in vain in favour of any particular candidate for an appointment. The Chief Vestal was always consulted in the last resort at a time of serious national crisis. The Vestal was rather closely confined to her house, but was free from the paternal domination which so largely affected other households. When she did go out, it was to be given the best seat at the circus or amphitheatre; she was allowed to push through the crowded city in a wheeled carriage when very few had such a privilege; and if by chance she met a criminal sentenced to death she could pardon him. The latter privilege, under the Papal rule, was accorded to all cardinals at Rome.

The Vestals were, both individually and in their corporate capacity, endowed with great wealth, either by their family, the Emperor, or the State. After their thirty years of official life they were at liberty to marry and resume the position of an ordinary citizen; but many of them preferred to retain the comforts and privileges of the order, and continued their career as Vestals.

The costume of the Vestal consisted of the *stola*, a white gown covering the whole body, with a *zona*, or cord, round the waist; over this was the *pallium*, folded round the body in a variety of ways, and sometimes stretching over the head as a hood. On the head she wore six bands of linen, as a sort of coronet. In the Museo Nazionale there is a fine statue of a Chief Vestal wearing the *suffibulum*, a sacrificial vestment forming a hood, white, with a purple border.

The worship of Vesta was continued for some years after the adoption of Christianity by Constantine, but was finally abolished by Gratian in 367.

The Temple of Vesta was in a fair state of preservation at the end of the fifteenth century, but was

destroyed by Michaelangelo and his successors, the materials being used, either in blocks or as lime, for the erection of St. Peter's.

Near the Temple of Vesta was the Temple of Castor and Pollux, of which three beautiful Corinthian columns, with their piece of the entablature, remain. The twin Greek gods were adopted by the Romans in gratitude for their assistance at the battle of Lake

COLUMNS OF TEMPLE OF CASTOR, TEMPLE OF AUGUSTUS, AND PALATINE HILL

Regillus, fought against Tarquin and the Latins in B.C. 496. The twins brought the news of the victory to Rome, and watered their horses at the Fons Juturna.

The demolition of the church of S. M. Liberatrice in 1900 has brought to light the original spring between the Temple of Vesta (the Virgins being the custodians of water as well as fire), and the Temple of the twin gods. The water still flows under a wall of ancient masonry into a rectangular bath of tufa, covered with slabs of marble. In it was found a marble altar, with reliefs on the four sides of the Dioscuri (Castor and

Pollux), Jupiter, Leda and the Swan, and a goddess, perhaps Vesta, and the fragments of two life-size marble horses of the best Greek workmanship. In the neighbouring rooms were found a statue of Æsculapius, a statue of Apollo, and a bust of Jupiter Serapis or Æsculapius.

Nearer to the Palatine is the shrine of the nymph Juturna, whom Vergil described as the sister of Turnus, King of the Rutulians, and who was supposed to have originated the building of the Temple of Castor and Pollux. The shrine had two marble columns and an architrave, with an inscription to Juturna. Near it is a well, and an inscription stating that it was erected by Marcus Barbatius Pollio, mentioned by Cicero as a partisan of Antony. Here also is a marble altar, with figures of, perhaps, Turnus and Juturna.

Beyond is the early Christian basilica of S. M. Antiqua, recently discovered, with atrium, nave, aisles and apse. The building, whose original purpose is doubtful, is of the time of Domitian, and was afterwards converted into a church. In the outer hall may be seen a great tank or piscina belonging to an earlier building and set at a different angle. The church has frescoes of the sixth, seventh and eighth centuries. On the left wall the figure of Christ has a row of saints on each side. Above are scenes from the Old Testament—the Flood, the story of Jacob, and of Joseph. On the right wall are three female figures each with a child, St. Anne with the Virgin, the Virgin with Jesus, St. Elizabeth with the Baptist. In the apse are figures of Christ, with the symbols of the four Evangelists, and Pope Paul I. (757-768). By the door on the right is a figure of St. Anne holding the infant Mary. The chapel on the left has a well-preserved fresco of the Crucifixion, with the Virgin, Peter, Paul, Quiriacus and Julitta, and Pope Zacharias

(741-752). The paintings on the side walls tell the story of SS. Quiriacus and Julitta, a mother and son martyred in the Diocletian persecution. When the Imperial palaces on the Palatine began to fall down upon this church Pope Leo IV. (847-855) abandoned it, erecting instead the church which was S. M. Nuova, and is now S. Francesca Romana.

Returning now towards the Forum we find near the column of the Temple of Castor the bases of the Arch of Augustus. Opposite are the Temple and Rostra of Julius Cæsar, erected by Augustus to the memory of his great-uncle and adoptive father on the spot in the Forum where the Dictator's body was burned by the mob. The exact place was marked by an altar, of which some remains exist. Steps led from the Forum to the Rostra Julia above this altar, and above the rostra was a further flight of steps to the temple, which thus stood at a considerable altitude.

Trajan's chariot now emerged upon the Forum Romanum. The hero was greeted with a roar of applause from the holiday-decked populace who crowded every available spot, whether in the Forum itself or on the steps, windows and roofs of the magnificent temples, palaces and basilicas which looked down upon the emperor. Nearest to him were the Rostra and Temple of Julius Cæsar; on his right, the enormous Basilica Æmilia, and beyond it the Curia or Senate House; on his left, the Temple of Castor and Pollux and the Basilica Julia; in front, the Arch of Tiberius, the rostra, and the Temples of Saturn, Vespasian and Concord, backed by the Tabularium; on the right apex of the Capitoline Hill, the Temple of Juno Moneta and the Arx or citadel; on the left, the final point of his journey, the goal of every triumphator—the Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, its golden roof glittering in the sun.

Before him lay the small open space where the two main features of civilisation—law and order—were born. Originally this was a piece of marshy ground lying in the valley between the Capitoline, Palatine and Velian eminences, which was frequently converted into a lake by an overflow of the Tiber.

The story of the Curtian lake is thus related by Livy (translation by Philemon Holland) :—

'The same year, by earthquake or other forcible violence, the common place called *Forum*, clave and opened wide, welneer in the mids, and sunk down to an exceeding depth : neither could that chink or pit be filled up, by casting in of earth (notwithstanding every man laboured and brought what he could) before that they began to enquire, according as they were admonished by the divine Oracles, what it might be, wherein the most puissance and greatness of the people of *Rome* consisted. (For the wizards prophesied, That if they would have the state of *Rome* to remain sure for ever, they should dedicate and offer it, whatsoever it was, unto that place). And when they were in doubt what this should be, it is reported, that *Marcus Curtius*, a right hardy Knight and martial young gentleman, rebuked them therefore, because they doubted whether the Romans had any earthly thing better than armour and valor? Herewith, after silence made, he lift up his eyes and beheld the Temples of the immortal Gods, scituat neer to the *Forum*, and the Capitol likewise; and stretching forth his hands, one while toward Heaven, another while to the gaping chinks and gulf in the earth, toward the infernal spirits beneath, he offered and devoted himself to assured death. And mounting upon a brave courser, as richly trapped and set out, as possibly he could devise, armed as he was at all pieces, he leapt Horse and man and all into the hole. The people, both men and women, threw in after him sundry

gifts and oblations, and fruits of the earth in great plenty.'

The actual site of this pool was discovered in 1904, an enclosed area 30 feet long by 20 feet broad, paved with travertine. Close to it have been found three travertine slabs, which carried three of the legs of the colossal equestrian statue of Domitian.

Here also are visible some portions of the subterranean passages which Julius Cæsar designed for the preparation of the shows of games and combats, which he gave in the Forum.

It was in the Forum that took place the festival organised by Romulus when the despised Romans seized the Sabine women and carried them off to their village on the Palatine. The Sabines could not hope to capture the Roman stronghold, defended by its solid wall (additional remains of which have recently been excavated); but a battle took place between the two tribes in the Forum area. While the issue was still undecided, the Sabine women, now the wives of the Romans, stopped the fighting by rushing in between their brothers and their husbands, and thus brought about a league of peace and friendship.

The word 'forum' originally meant a place out-of-doors, hence public, for the transaction of business, whether commercial, political or judicial. At first a market-place, the Forum was surrounded by shops. In 449 B.C., Virginia, a young girl, was claimed by Appius Claudius as the slave of one of his clients. The powerful Decemvir appeared in the Forum, accompanied by his armed patrician friends and their followers; his lictors dispersed the mob and seized the girl. Her father, Virginius, snatched up a knife from an adjoining butcher's stall and plunged it in his daughter's heart. This tragedy led to the abolition of the Decemvirate,

and the suicide of Appius Claudius in the Mamertine prison.

On the Palatine side, where the Basilica Julia was afterwards erected, were the *tabernæ veteres*, and on the other side the *tabernæ novæ* or *argentariæ*, the offices of silversmiths and bankers. After the battle of Cannae, when Hannibal was encamped within three miles of the city, the plot of land upon which his force rested was put up for sale by auction in the Forum, to which Hannibal replied by selling these shops—the richest in Rome—to the highest bidder. In the later days of the Republic gladiatorial fights were frequently displayed in the Forum at a funeral, and wooden stands were erected for spectators. On one such occasion Julius Cæsar covered a part of the Forum with a silk awning.

The Basilica Æmilia was about the same in length as the Basilica Julia, was open, and two-storeyed. It was through the open courts of this building that the Prætorians rushed to kill Galba. It was used as an exchange. The chambers at the side were offices. In some of them are considerable remains of pavements in *opus sectile*, which were restored in 1900. Some panels of white marble were found here beautifully decorated with carvings. The basilica had fine columns of *africano*, many fragments of which remain.

At the southern end of this basilica, near the Temple of Antoninus and Faustina, a large fragment has been discovered bearing an inscription in honour of Lucius Cæsar, the adopted son of Augustus, who was cut off by an early death from the succession.

Proceeding along the Sacra Via, Trajan now passed near the shrine of Venus Cloacina, to which the recently-discovered circular basement probably belongs. The goddess of purification, or drainage, would naturally be placed near the Cloaca Maxima, which has

now been revealed, the sewer to which had previously been assigned that name proving to be only a tributary of this much larger work. Close to the real Cloaca Maxima the excavators have got down to the early pavement of the Forum.

Near the Basilica Æmilia stood the small temple or shrine of Janus, closed in time of peace, open in time of war. It was of white marble and gilt bronze, and contained a gilded bronze statue of the double-headed Janus Bifrons. It is sometimes said that peace is necessary for the growth of a nation. Better than peace is conquest. The Romans steadily extended their power by fighting. With one brief interlude between the first and second Carthaginian wars, the Temple of Janus was constantly open from Numa to Augustus, a period of nearly 700 years. When Rome was besieged by the Goths under Vitiges in 537, more than 200 years after the official adoption of Christianity, some despairing and superstitious men attempted to open this temple, in the hope that then the god might assist them. The bronze doors were so firmly fixed that they could not be moved.

The Curia or Senate House, built by Diocletian, is now the church of S. Adriano. The old Curia was destroyed by fire during the riot at the funeral of Clodius in 52 B.C.; it was rebuilt and again destroyed. Practically all the façade dates from Diocletian (end of third century). The bronze doors of the Senate House were removed by Pope Alexander VII. to the principal entrance of the Basilica of S. John Lateran. Except for a slight lengthening at top and bottom they are in their original condition.

In front of the Curia was the Comitium, an open paved area surrounded by a low screen. This was the original meeting-place of the patrician *comitia curiata*. It was sacred ground, regarded as distinct

from the Forum. There were many statues upon it: to the Greeks, Pythagoras and Alcibiades; to Horatius Cocles, who kept the Sublician Bridge against Lars Porsena and Tarquin; to Attius Navius the Augur, who cut a whetstone with his razor; to the three Sibyls or Fates, who gave the church its mediæval name of S. Adriano in Tribus Fatis. Upon the Comitium also stood the *ficus ruminalis*, the sacred fig tree under which Romulus and Remus in their cradle were deposited by the flooded Tiber; and a bronze statue of the wolf suckling the twins, which some authorities think may be the famous statue now in the palace of the Conservators on the Capitoline Hill. On the Comitium foreign envoys were received, criminal trials took place, and criminals were flogged or executed. Here also was the raised platform from which the aristocratic assembly could be addressed, called the rostra, because the bronze beaks (*rostra*) of ships captured in war were fastened to their outer front. The rostra on the Comitium were so placed that the orator could turn either towards the patricians on the Comitium, or the rabble in the Forum. Here Tiberius and Gaius Gracchus advocated their reforms, and here Cicero delivered his second and third orations against Catiline. It was in front of this rostra that Sulla exposed the dug-up head of Marius.

At the edge of the Comitium the recent excavations have exposed the *niger lapis*, composed of several thick slabs of the blackest marble shot with streaks of white. It marks the site of the legendary tomb of Romulus. Below it are the bases on which may have stood the lions which are said to have flanked the tomb. Here also have been found a tufa cone, and a four-sided shaft or cippus of tufa, upon which is an inscription in words of the earliest Latin, referring to sacrificial rites. These objects were found broken, apparently

by some act of violence, but they must have been regarded as very sacred, for they were buried in a mass of *débris* containing small bronze figures, bones of sacrificial animals, ashes, vases of black clay, and other votive objects.

The central area of the Forum contained a large number of statues to eminent men. Here has been discovered the base of the colossal equestrian bronze statue of Domitian, which was destroyed after his death. The pedestals of some columns, on which were statues of the time of Constantine, facing the Basilica Julia, have recently been restored. The fine Corinthian column, known so long as the column of Phocas, was erected by Diocletian. On its summit the Exarch Smaragdus placed a statue to Phocas, the Eastern tyrant, in 600.

The most interesting objects on this central area are the Plutei, two low walls of white marble, with sculptured reliefs, which remain near the spot where they were found in 1872. The reliefs are of Trajan's time. On the inner sides, as they now stand, appear, on each wall, the sacrificial animals of the Suovetauralia (*sus*, *ovis*, *taurus*)—the boar, ram, and bull—adorned with fillets and wreaths. The relief towards the Capitol has, on the left, Trajan addressing the people from the Rostra Julia; behind him are the Temple of Castor and the Arch of Augustus. On the right, before the seated figure of Trajan, stands a woman carrying a child —an allusion to the charity for poor children inaugurated by Trajan. Behind is the lower storey of the Basilica Julia. Further, on the right, is a statue of Marsyas, an aged faun, carrying a wine skin; and here also is shown the sacred fig tree. The relief facing the Colosseum represents the burning of tablets before a figure, much de-

stroyed, seated on the rostra—an allusion to the remission by Trajan of certain arrears of taxes due to the treasury. On the left of this scene Marsyas and the fig tree appear again. In the background, on the right, is the Temple of Vespasian; then the Temple of Saturn; between them an arch, perhaps the Arch of Tiberius; and on the left the Basilica Julia.

Close to the Plutei is the large marble block which originally carried a large marble equestrian statue of Stilicho, in honour of his victory over the Goths at the battle of Pollentia in 403. The remains of an inscription may be traced upon the fragment.

Between the Column of Diocletian and the Temple of Saturn are the recently-discovered arches whose meaning is uncertain. Perhaps they were the substructure of the road which had to be widened when the Temple of Saturn was rebuilt, in B.C. 42. Near are the rostra which were removed from the Comitium, probably by Augustus. In their present form they date from Trajan. They are shown in sculptured relief on the Arch of Constantine. Towards the Forum the platform had a low marble screen, open in the centre, where the orator stood. The Plutei, described above, formed the parapet walls at either side.

At the back of these rostra, on the west, was the milliarium aureum, a column of gilded bronze, on which were marked the distances of the chief towns from Rome.

On the east, nearly touching the Arch of Severus, are the remains of a cylindrical structure, the Umbilicus Romæ, or central part of the city.

Between the rostra and the Capitol the early tufa drains of the Republican period have recently been exposed. Here too may be seen the remains of the

primitive Altar of Vulcan where, we are told, fish were sacrificed 'instead of human souls.' The pavement of the Clivus Capitolinus, the street mounting the Capitol, is also visible.

The Arch of Septimius Severus was erected in 203, during the reign of Severus, to himself and his sons, Caracalla and Geta, in honour of their Parthian victories. After the murder of Geta by order of his brother, in the presence of their mother, Julia Domna, Caracalla caused the words in the fourth line, which originally were, 'P. SEPTIMIO. GETAE. NOBILISS. CAESARI.,' to be erased, and the present words, 'OPTIMIS. FORTISSIMISQVE. PRINCIPIBVS.,' to be cut in their place.

On the top of the arch there was originally a bronze chariot, drawn by six horses, in which stood a figure of Severus, with Caracalla and Geta on foot at the sides. The vaults of the three arches are ornamented with rosette decorations. The eight columns, much restored, have composite capitals. The material of the arch is Pentelic marble; that of the columns Hymettian marble. On the pedestals of the columns are reliefs of barbarian captives led by Roman soldiers. The spandrels of the centre arch have figures of winged victories, and, below them, figures representing the four seasons. The four large reliefs over the side arches represent sieges and victories in the Parthian war—the entry of Severus into Babylon, the siege of Hatra in Mesopotamia, the passage of the Euphrates, etc. The spandrels over the lower arches represent the river gods of the Euphrates, Tigris, and their tributaries. In the Middle Ages one tower of a church rested upon the top of this arch, which was deeply buried in *débris*. After some of the rubbish had been cleared away the side arches were used as workshops. It is now

clear that there was no roadway under the arch originally; it was approached on the east by steps.

TEMPLE OF SATURN, TABULARIUM AND TOWER OF CAPITOL

The pavement under the arch dates from the triumphal entry of the Emperor Charles V. in the sixteenth century.

Near the Basilica Julia are eight columns, with an entablature, remains of a restoration by Diocletian,

of the Temple of Saturn, with part of the inscription—

SENATVS. POPVLVS. QVE. ROMANVS. INCENDIO. CONSVMPTVM. RESTITVIT.

Saturn was one of the earliest of the Roman gods to whom a temple was erected. The Saturnalia were the original festivities from which the modern carnival is derived. In this temple was the public treasury.

Just south of the Temple of Saturn are the remains of the Arch of Tiberius, erected in 16 A.D., on the Vicus Jugarius.

On the western side of the Forum was the Basilica Julia, commenced by Julius Cæsar, completed by Augustus, and restored by subsequent emperors. The latest restorations, the brick pillars, and the piece of a marble column are quite modern, and not in accordance with the original design. The basilica was 100 yards long. It was used as a law court, and was large enough for the trial of four cases at once. Pliny pleaded here in the time of Trajan. A two-storeyed double aisle surrounded the three sides nearest the Forum, which were open except for a low marble screen and curtains. The central area was probably not roofed, but covered by an awning. It had a fine pavement of coloured oriental marbles. The aisles were paved with white marble, some of which is still *in situ*, and still carries the marks of gaming-tables. Caligula connected his palace on the Palatine with the Capitol, by means of short wooden bridges joining together the palace, the Temple of Augustus, the Basilica Julia and the Capitol. When passing over the roof of the aisles of the Basilica Julia, on his way to the Capitol, he used to throw money into the Forum for the populace to fight over.

Between the Basilica Julia and the Temple of Castor and Pollux there was a street leading through the Vela-

brum to the Circus Maximus, called the Vicus Tuscus or Etruscan street. At one time it was called the Vicus Thurarius from the shops here for *thus* or perfume. The pavement is visible.

At the back of the Temple of Castor was the Temple of Augustus, whose substantial remains have become more prominent since the destruction of the church of Sta. Maria Liberatrice in 1900.

The modern road between the Forum and the Capitol covers part of the Clivus Capitolinus which led to the Temple of Jupiter on the Capitol. Here, with their backs to the Tabularium, were, on the right the Temple of Concord, on the left the Temple of Vespasian. The Temple of Concord was built by Camillus to commemorate the peace made between patricians and plebeians by the concession of one consulship to the plebeians in 367 B.C. This was one of the most revered of Roman temples. As rebuilt in the reign of Augustus, it was a splendid edifice. Fragments of that date, of excellent workmanship, exist in the corridor of the Tabularium, and in the Capitoline Museum. The Temple of Concord contained a large number of statues and pictures, with gems, gold and silver plate and other objects of art.

Three Corinthian columns, with a small piece of the entablature, remain of the Temple of Vespasian, erected by his son Domitian, 94 A.D. On the frieze are sculptured ox skulls and sacrificial instruments. The inscription recorded a restoration by Septimius Severus and Caracalla. The letters ESTITVER (restituerunt) alone remain.

Having arrived so far, the chariot of the triumphator now halted, while the chief captives were taken to the Mamertine prison, to be executed or strangled.

Livy says that it was in the reign of Ancus Martius that the first prison was built 'media urbe imminens

foro' (in the middle of the city overlooking the Forum). It contains two chambers, the lower of which, the *tullianum*, was so called from its having been originally a cistern or well, tullius being an early Latin word for 'a spring.' This was the first prison, partly excavated out of the rock, and partly built of tufa blocks which form probably the oldest work of masonry in Rome, with the exception of the primitive walls. The prisoner was lowered through an opening in the vault into this horrible hole, dark, fetid and half full of water. Many famous men have met their death in this prison. Jugurtha, King of Numidia, after his defeat by Marius, was shown at his triumph in 106 B.C., and when the conqueror had arrived at this point, his captive was stripped and flung into the tullianum, there to die of cold and starvation. Here, also, Lentulus, Cethegus and the other participators in the conspiracy of Catiline were strangled by order of Cicero, who announced their fate to the populace in the Forum by the word '*Vixerunt*' ('They have lived'). Julius Cæsar caused his gallant opponent, Vercingetorix, the Gaul, to be killed in this prison. Sejanus, the disgraced favourite of Tiberius, was killed here with his family and friends, and their bodies were exposed on the Scalae Gemoniae (Stairs of Sighs), perhaps the steps which led from the prison to the Forum. Simon Bar-Gorias, after confinement in this prison, was executed when Titus celebrated his triumph for the conquest of Jerusalem. Death was the almost certain fate of every prisoner in this dungeon. A baseless Christian legend has associated the place with the imprisonment of SS. Peter and Paul. The lower and upper chamber bore the name of the Mamertine prison from a local statue of Mars or Mamers.

When his captive was dead, the triumphator continued up the Clivus Capitolinus, passing on his right

the shrine of the twelve gods, six male and six female. The existing Corinthian columns are part of the portico which was rebuilt in 367 A.D.; they have been much restored by Canina. The hero then mounted the sacred stairs to the Temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus. Julius Cæsar and Claudius ascended these stairs on their knees, an example which, until the eighteenth century, was imitated by pious Catholics when mounting the steps to the church of S. M. in Ara Cœli; and is still followed at the Scala Santa adjoining the Lateran.

The Capitoline Temple of Jupiter was the most splendid, as well as the most important, temple in Rome. It was begun by Tarquinius Priscus, and finished by Tarquinius Superbus, but not consecrated till 509 B.C., after the expulsion of the Tarquins. This original building escaped destruction when the Gauls sacked Rome in 390 B.C., but was burned down in 83 B.C. Sulla rebuilt it, but it was burned again in 69 A.D., only to rise more magnificent than before. On arriving at this temple, Trajan placed in the lap of the god Jupiter the laurel branch which he had carried throughout his triumph; and then he sacrificed the white oxen in the presence of all the chief political, military and religious officials. The proceedings closed with a banquet.

CHAPTER III

Pagan and Christian

'Odium generis humani.'—*Tacitus.*

'Widerstand gegen die römische Staatsomnipotenz.'—*G. F. Arnold.*

CHRISTIANITY arose as a reaction against Rome. It fed upon hostility to Rome. It was strengthened by persecution because that persecution came from Rome. It was a protest against the two forces which governed the world—the Roman religion, and the Roman Imperium.

The Roman religion was based upon that of Greece. The earliest Greeks worshipped many gods, but actually believed in one only—Destiny. They considered it useless to struggle against *their moira* (divine fate). Later, as intelligence developed, an effort was made to explain the causes of events, and to create a system of thought and rule of action which should lessen the misfortunes of life. It was seen that human beings, having some control over their sensations, were to that extent masters of their own fates. So the Epicureans advocated the deliberate, systematic cultivation of pleasure; while the Stoics endeavoured, by discipline and training, to make themselves impervious to pain.

The course of Roman thought was similar to that of Greece. In Republican days the Romans believed

that all human actions were controlled by invisible, mysterious influences — the gods — to whom they erected temples, whose favour they expected to obtain by sacrifices and offerings. The constant intervention of the gods in human affairs, made it a matter of first importance to ascertain their intentions, a task which was undertaken by State officials, whose auguries were supposed to reveal the mood of these omnipotent influences. These gods were the embodiment of Fate. It mattered little what names or qualities were ascribed to them. When Rome began to conquer the world, contact with other nations led to the adoption of foreign deities. Jupiter and Juno found serious rivals in the Persian sun-god Mithra, or in the grotesque divinities of Egypt—Isis, Osiris, Harpocrates, Anubis. The cult of these gods—the inventions of inferior races—was harmful to the Romans, who became more and more superstitious under their influence. Nearly every Roman household came to be haunted by soothsayers, interpreters of dreams and casters of horoscopes. While the common people were thus infected by the degraded fashions of the conquered countries, the educated Romans were absorbing the best part of foreign thought. The more intelligent began, under the influence of Greek philosophy, to lose their belief in Fate, and to cut themselves adrift from popular superstitions.

Cicero, for example, said: 'The Senate hears, it may be, that there has been a shower of blood, or that the statues of the gods have sweated. You do not think, do you, that Thales or Anaxagoras, or any man of science at all would have believed such reports? Blood and sweat can only come from a body of some kind. It may have been some discolouration caused by earthy matter that looked like blood; and moisture, such as we see on plastered walls in the street when

the sirocco blows, may have suggested sweat. Besides, these things seem of more importance when people are alarmed in time of war, while in time of peace they pass unnoticed. They are believed more readily and invented with more safety in times of fear and danger. Mice, we are told, nibbled the shields at Lanuvium before the Marsic war. As if it mattered whether the mice, that are always gnawing something night and day, nibbled shields or sieves. They have been at my copy of Plato's Republic lately. Am I, therefore, to alarm myself about politics?' Horace, though afterwards converted to the popular superstitions by his escape from a falling tree, at an earlier date wrote thus: 'I have learned that the gods live careless of mankind, and if Nature does any wonder, it is not the gods who in anger send it down from their high palace of heaven.' And Livy, though unwilling to disseminate distrust of the State religion, says: 'Superstition sees the interference of the gods in trifling matters. When the mind is swayed by religious excitement, marvellous reports find currency, and are believed without due consideration. Nay, the very faith of simple-hearted and religious men increases the number of these stories.'

The Roman religion was a national religion to a peculiar and especial degree. It was believed that the impiety of one man would suffice to bring down the anger of the gods upon the entire community. To propitiate the gods was an even more patriotic action than to kill an enemy. The safety of the State depended upon the sacrifices offered at the shrines. The merging of the individual in the corporation was as complete in the Roman religion as in Roman politics. All the most enlightened rulers, from Augustus to Diocletian, supported the State religion, with its elaborate ceremonial, its signs and wonders, for the

sake of its influence upon the multitude. For if the people lost their faith in the gods, would they not also lose their confidence in the State?

It was for this reason that a Stoic like Marcus Aurelius, was so punctilious in the discharge of his duties as Pontifex Maximus, and that he sanctioned the execution of Christians. And yet his own belief, the philosophy of the later and gentler Stoics, was a half-way house between the Roman gods and Christ.

The Stoic believed in the existence of God as a force which was visible in the laws of nature, and regarded all men as equal in this sense, that they were all subject to the same inevitable natural forces. So far he was nearer to the Christian than to the old-fashioned Pagan. He had also made an advance towards Christianity in his appreciation of an influence in life which was not mere fate, and in his desire to discover a philosophy which should enable man to face the sorrows of life with tranquillity. He showed an active dissatisfaction with life, and realised the need of training and discipline to meet misfortune. The old Pagan met death with stolid submission; it was inevitable, and he did not reason about it. The Stoic regarded death as part of a scheme of nature; a man should prepare himself for death by living in familiar association with nature—with the laws of existence; he will then be able to face death with equanimity. The Christian took the next great step. He definitely believed in the consolation of a future life by the resurrection of the body. This was one of the chief attractions of the Christian faith. A future existence of happiness was given as a set-off to sorrow and pain on earth.

In other respects also the Christian had much to offer. The Imperial system made the individual a

mere unit, sacrificed for the State, represented in the person of the emperor. A large majority of the population were slaves; all had to worship the emperor as a god; and the gladiatorial shows still further encouraged a general contempt for the life of an ordinary citizen. Thus while a man's soul was in the hands of the emperor, liberty was abolished by slavery, and the value of life depreciated by the exhibition of mortal combats. Christianity was essentially hostile to all this. It gave every man the custody of his own soul, and declared that all men were equal before God. Thus the greater the tyranny, the stronger was the tendency to look for consolation in the Christian's heaven.

Moreover, Christianity encouraged sympathy, affection, cheerfulness—a complete reaction from the stern, cold Roman spirit. It thus appealed directly to women, and it favoured them especially by acknowledging their possession of souls on an equality with men. Women were ready converts, and by their influence greatly extended the new religion. Finally, at a time when all political life was absorbed in the caprice of a despotic emperor, the Christian obtained an outlet for political energy, denied to the other citizens, in the organisation of the secret Christian communities. He belonged to an independent, democratic club, which decided upon the questions of the day without consulting either the national gods or the emperor.

It was the policy of Rome to permit the free practice of all religions, without opposition or interference, on one single condition, that respect should be shown to the Roman deities and the State officials. Any religion which directly assailed the national gods, or disturbed men's minds, or caused discontent with the Government, would be suppressed. But the mere

worship of Christ was permitted as freely as that of any Egyptian, Persian, or other god or gods. The Christians, however, not only worshipped Christ, but despised Jupiter, and declared that their religion would inevitably triumph over that of the State. They even prophesied the fall of the Roman Empire, to be replaced by the temporal kingdom of Christ. They absented themselves from the public festivals, openly scorned all Roman institutions, and lived in a mental atmosphere which was directly hostile to the traditional spirit and tendencies of Rome.

All this was brought forward against them by the Jews. The Roman law guaranteed to the Jews the free exercise of their religion, and the Romans at first thought that the Christians were a Jewish sect who had embraced a new and unimportant doctrine of a controversial character, concerning the advent of the Messiah. The Jews made it their business to enlighten the Government. They declared that the Christians were conspiring against the State and the gods, under cover of the privileges extended to the Jewish religion.

So it happened that when in A.D. 64 Nero found himself accused of having set fire to Rome in order to clear a space for a magnificent palace—which he did in fact erect after the fire—he easily turned popular indignation against the Christians, his attention being in all probability directed to them by his Jewish wife, Poppæa. Arson, however, has always been a very difficult offence to prove, and Roman justice rejected the evidence tendered as insufficient; so the charge was altered to the far more serious offence of 'odium generis humani,' a combination of atheism, anarchism and high treason. The Christians had no friends. Hated by the Jews, they were in turn despised by the Romans as a Jewish sect. Yet their dreadful fate

seems to have aroused some compassion. The famous passage in Tacitus runs: 'In order to put down the rumour he' (Nero) 'set up as objects of accusation and punishment those whom, already hated for their wickedness, the people called Christians. This name was derived from one Christus, who was executed in the reign of Tiberius by Pontius Pilate, the procurator of Judea; and this accursed superstition, repressed for the moment, broke out again, not only through Judea, the source of the mischief, but also in Rome, whither all things outrageous and shameful flow together and find many adherents. Accordingly those were first arrested who confessed, afterwards a vast number upon their information were convicted, not so much upon the charge of causing the fire, but rather for their hatred to the human race. Their deaths were made to afford amusement to the crowd. Some were wrapped in the skins of wild beasts and torn to pieces by dogs; others were fastened on crosses, and when the daylight failed were burned as torches to light up the night. Nero had lent his own gardens for the spectacle, and he gave a chariot race, in which he was seen mounted on his car or mingling with the people in the dress of a charioteer. As the result, a feeling of compassion arose for the sufferers, though guilty and deserving of condign punishment, yet as being destroyed, not for the common good, but to satiate the cruelty of one man.'

Nero made use of the circus which had been built by Caligula in the Vatican (where now stands St. Peter's), and the private park and gardens belonging to the emperor. The Colosseum had not then been commenced, the Circus Maximus had been destroyed by the fire, and the Flaminian Circus had probably shared the same fate. Nero prided himself on his artistic conceptions, and tried to impart to all

his public displays a dramatic element. He was the first to represent by actual death the scenes of legend or mythology. Christians would be made to represent Ixion fastened to a wheel; Icarus, clad in gauze wings, lifted up to the awning, and then dropped to earth, and so killed; Mucius Scævola having his hand burned off; Actaeon torn to pieces by dogs; Orpheus eaten by a bear; and the women appeared as the Danaides, or as Dirce bound to the horns of a bull. When these *tableaux mourants* were over, and darkness approached, he lit up the circus by using the oiled and burning bodies of living men, women and children, and by the light so obtained chariot races took place, in which the emperor himself joined. The dauntless courage of the victims must have spoiled much of the stage effect, and no doubt greatly annoyed Nero. Seneca, who was present, has left an allusion to this great historical scene in a letter to a friend who was afflicted by a painful illness. 'What are your sufferings,' he says, 'compared with the flame and the rack? And yet, in the midst of sufferings of that sort, I have seen men not only not groan, that is little; not only not complain, that is little; not only not reply, that, too, is little; but I have seen them smile, and smile with a good heart.'

The bones of the poor sufferers were reverently buried by their fellows near the spot of their martyrdom. It is believed, and we may hope it is true, that the altar of St. Peter's covers their remains.

It was in connection with this persecution that SS. Peter and Paul suffered martyrdom. According to tradition, St. Peter's first house in Rome was the house of Aquila and Priscilla on the Aventine, over which now stands the modernised church of S. Prisca. He did not remain there long—perhaps because he was too near the Jews—but moved to a house on the Via

Nomentana, whose site is marked by the Ostrian cemetery, about a quarter of a mile beyond the church and catacomb of Sta. Agnese Fuori le Mura. Afterwards he lived in the house of the Roman senator Pudens, where he converted the senator's daughters, Praxedes and Pudentiana, and baptized many others. The church of S. Pudenziana, the oldest in Rome, stands upon the site formerly occupied by the house of Pudens. The mosaics of the tribune, though completely restored and modernised, are of interest as being in form and design the oldest in Rome; and the campanile, one of the oldest, is remarkable for its open colonnades.

STATUE OF ST PETER IN THE BASILICA

It was from the house of Pudens that Peter went forth in order to escape the Neronian persecution. St. Ambrose tells us that when the apostle had passed outside the gates, and was proceeding along the Appian Way, he saw Christ coming towards him, to whom Peter said, "Domine, quo vadis?"—"Lord, whither goest Thou?" and Christ said to him, "I go to Rome to be crucified a second time." And Peter said to Him, "Lord, wilt Thou be crucified afresh?" And

the Lord said to him, "Yea, I shall be crucified afresh." And Peter said, "I will turn back and follow Thee." And when he had so spoken the Lord ascended into heaven. And Peter followed Him with longing eyes and sweet tears, and then, when he had come to himself, he understood that it was spoken of his own passion, and that the Lord was to suffer afresh in his person, for so He does suffer in all the chosen, by the compassion of His mercy and the power of His glory. And Peter turned back and went into the city with joy, glorifying God and telling the brethren how Christ had met him and had declared to him how that He was in him about to be crucified again.'

There is a tradition that both Peter and Paul were confined in the Mamertine prison, that from thence they were brought out together for execution, and were taken outside Rome by the Porta Ostiensis, now the Porta Paolo, along the Via Ostia, to a spot which is now marked by the Cappello del Crocifisso (open on Easter Tuesday). Here, it is said, they were parted, Paul to meet his death at the Tre Fontane, Peter in the Vatican. Paul, as a Roman citizen, was by law exempt from the shame of crucifixion. At a spot which is commemorated by the church of San Paolo alle Tre Fontane, his head was cut off; as it fell, it bounded three times, and the earth responded by pouring forth the three fountains of water which still flow. The neighbouring church of SS. Vincenzo ed Anastasio, founded in 626, and rebuilt in 1221, has not been radically altered since, and is an excellent specimen of mediæval architecture.

St. Peter was crucified, head downwards, at the foot of the obelisk in the centre of the Circus of Caligula and Nero. The spot where the obelisk stood, before its removal to its present position in front of St

Peter's by Sixtus V., is marked by a stone in the pavement, on which is an inscription, near the sacristy.

The final resting-places of the bodies of SS. Peter and Paul have long been matter for dispute. The facts cannot now be dogmatically asserted. But there is good reason to believe that the bodies of the apostles were originally buried close to the scenes of their martyrdom, St. Peter just outside the circus in which he met his death, St. Paul at the Tre Fontane. During the persecutions of the third century, the bodies were taken, for greater safety, to the cemetery of S. Sebastiano, whence they were ultimately removed to the spots which are now marked by the altars of their respective basilicas. There, it is said, they still remain. Constantine erected the two basilicas over the sites which tradition had handed down as containing the bodies. He made use of one wall of the Circus of Caligula and Nero as part of the southern nave of the church of St. Peter, which took its size, shape and direction from this wall of the Pagan edifice. The modern basilica, like its predecessor, was built round the tomb of St. Peter.

In 846 the Saracens sacked the basilica and carried off all its treasures, including even the altar, but it is believed that the tomb of the apostle had been bricked up so as to conceal the entrance to the crypt before the actual arrival of the marauders.

The heads of SS. Peter and Paul are supposed to rest above the high altar in the Basilica of St. John Lateran, and are exposed to public view on Easter Sunday and Monday, the 29th June, 6th July, 9th November and 27th December.

Another famous relic is the wooden episcopal chair of St. Peter, kept in a closet in the wall of the tribune of the basilica. The bronze chair which is visible in

the tribune is by Bernini. The bronze statue of St. Peter in the basilica, whose foot has been worn by kissing, is of uncertain date. It is in the style of the fifth century.

The likenesses of SS. Peter and Paul have been preserved for us by paintings, mosaics and medallions found in the catacombs. The most important of the earliest portraits is contained in a medallion—perhaps of the second century—found in the catacomb of St. Domitilla. Here St. Paul is thin and bald, with a long beard in ringlets, while St. Peter has a fuller, stronger face, with short curly hair and beard.

In the reign of Trajan the Christians had become so numerous in Bithynia that the governor, Pliny the Younger, wrote to the emperor for directions as to his treatment of the sect. He wished especially to know whether he was to punish 'the name itself, if free from crimes, or the crimes cohering with the name' of Christian.

The answer of Trajan was as follows: 'It is not possible to lay down any fixed rule by which to act in all cases of this nature. The Christians are not to be sought out; but if brought before you, and the crime is proved, they must be punished; with this restriction, however, that where the person denies that he is a Christian, and gives a practical proof of the fact, as, for example, by showing his reverence for our gods, then he is to be forgiven on account of his recantation, notwithstanding any suspicion there may be against him with regard to his past life. Anonymous informations are not to be received in prosecutions of any sort; they are the worst of precedents, and not consonant to the spirit of our time.'

It would have been well for the later fame of the Christians themselves if the Church, in dealing with heretics, had followed the liberal policy of the great

Pagan. It was inconsistent, in that it prohibited inquiry into conduct for which it decreed punishment. But the discouragement of informers was a measure of wise practical toleration. Gregory the Great was so much impressed with the record of Trajan that, 500 years later, he prayed God that even then it might not be too late to receive the Pagan emperor into the Christian fold.

The Christians were, however, throughout the age of the Antonines, in accordance with Trajan's decree, condemned to death, if properly convicted and obstinately persisting in their refusal to perform the ceremonies of the Pagan religion.

When Marcus Aurelius ascended the throne, some of the more prominent Christians, recognising the humane intelligence of the Stoic emperor, ventured to lay before him categorical explanations of the philosophic basis to their belief. They were led by Justin—a former teacher of the Pagan philosophy—Tatian, Apollinarius, Melito, Athenagoras and, later, Tertullian, and propounded their creed in 'Apologies,' which were presented to the emperor. The Pagans replied. Their champions were Fronto, the friend and confidante of Marcus, Celsus the Epicurean, Lucian the Satirist and Crescentius. It was dangerous work for the Christians. They were, as they knew, liable to the punishment of death. An outbreak of popular feeling, a public calamity, would be fatal to them.

In the year 162 the Tiber overflowed to an extent never before known. The inundation was followed by famine, and by a more terrible visitor, who now made a first appearance—the plague. The Romans were quite unable to devise any expedient for coping with this new disease. It carried off the greater part of the Roman army and of the population of Rome. Some writers consider that with it began the fall of the

Western Empire. It is certain that the Romans capable of bearing arms were greatly reduced in numbers by the losses in the Parthian and Marcomannic wars, by the famine and by the plague. At such a time it was easy to rouse popular anger against the Christians.

The people were ready and anxious to believe that these calamities were due to neglect of the veneration due to the gods, who thus showed their displeasure at the neglect to punish the Christians. The cry of 'Christianos ad Leones' was heard on all sides. The Pagan philosophers set the law in motion. Justin and his friends were brought before the prefect of the city, accused of being Christians. The crime was proved; they were publicly scourged and put to death.

The word 'martyr' has become associated with the name of Justin in an especial and curious degree. Justin Martyr seems to have been so called because he was the first of the philosophers, educated and learned in Greek writings, who, having become a convert to Christianity, was executed, not so much because he was a Christian, but for the polemical zeal with which he attacked the national faith. This apostasy awoke among the educated Pagans of the day a desire for information as to the rational basis of the Christian faith, hitherto regarded as a vulgar superstition, fit only for the dregs of the population, who had neither wits nor education. With Marcus Aurelius at the head of society, every fashionable Roman professed himself a philosopher. The martyrdom of Justin is especially interesting, because he was the first to make Christianity intelligible to the Pagan world, and to arouse the interest of Pagan philosophers in its tenets.

The severest persecutions occurred in the middle of the third and the beginning of the fourth centuries. Decius (249–51), Gallus (251–3), Valerian

(253–60), and Diocletian (284–305) made determined efforts to extirpate the new religion. Cyprian, Bishop of Carthage, Sixtus II., Bishop of Rome, and his deacon, St. Lawrence, suffered at this time. In 303 an edict was issued ordering all Christian churches to be destroyed and all Christian writings to be publicly burned. Christians were declared incapable of holding any public office, Christian slaves were for ever deprived of any hope of freedom, and while the judges were authorised to decide any case brought against a Christian, they were not allowed to listen to their complaints of injuries of any sort which they might have sustained. The law could be put in force against them, but not in their favour. These severe measures were continued by Maximin and Galerius.

They failed. Galerius, finding that it was impossible to eradicate the new belief, took the sensible course of issuing an edict of toleration. This was soon followed, in 313, by the edict of Milan, promulgated by Constantine. It was enacted that all confiscated property should be restored to the Church, and that all persons were to be free to follow whatever religion they pleased, without any limitation whatever. Constantine added that his action was due to his concern for the peace and happiness of his people, and his desire to propitiate *the Deity*, whose seat is in heaven. He himself was baptized in the Christian faith shortly before his death. At this time the majority of the population were still Pagans, and the old religion continued for some time the struggle, but it was slowly submerged, and at last extinguished completely.

Many of the Pagan customs have found their way into Christian ritual. Dyer tells us that the tonsure comes from the worship of Anubis. Commodus was tonsured in order to carry the Egyptian god in procession. The burning of candles at the altars was

TRIBUNE OF S. LORENZO FUORI

originally a substitution for human sacrifice; lamps were lit in ancient Rome before the Compitalian Lares, as now before the image of the Madonna. The bearing of torches in a funeral procession was a Pagan custom. The Pagan priests carried the idols dressed in gorgeous apparel in processions, as do the Roman priests to this day. The Pagans placed a basin of holy water at the entrance to their temples. The flocks were sprinkled with it, and blessed by the priest at the feast of the Palilia, as now at the festival of St. Anthony. Ex-voto offerings were nearly as common in Roman temples as they are now in Christian. The foot of the Pontifex Maximus was kissed as is now that of the Pope. And the use of incense was a Pagan custom which the early Christians so strongly disapproved, that in times of persecution the test of a man's religion was his willingness or refusal to throw incense into the censer before the emperor's image.

There was a great difference between Pagan and Christian burial. Although the Romans did not believe in the resurrection of the body, they thought that the shade, spirit, or soul, of the deceased would restlessly haunt the earth, if the body from which it came was not laid properly to rest. Hence the great respect extended to tombs, and the liberty given to burial clubs. When the body had been cremated, and the ashes placed in an urn and buried, the place of interment became *religiosus*, under the protection of the pontiffs and the law. The family of the deceased could not be deprived by sale, mortgage, or any other transfer, of the possession of the *locus religiosus*. It was inalienable property. Decent burial was so desirable that a rich man would build a tomb for the interment of himself, his relations, his friends, his freedmen and freedwomen, and all their descendants. The middle and

poorer classes made sure of a resting-place for their bodies by joining a club, to which regular payments had to be made. Soldiers would allocate a fixed portion of their pay for regular contributions to a burial fund, and the various trades had clubs established on the same principle of periodic subscription towards burial expenses. All clubs and private meetings were intolerable to the Government, with this one exception. The meetings of the Christians would not have been permitted but for the belief that their association was a burial club.

Up to the third century B.C. the Romans buried their dead. Cremation then became the custom, and lasted till the second century A.D., when burial once more became the fashion. During the cremation period, sacred enclosures, called *ustrina*, were specially prepared for the operation. A good specimen still exists on the Appian Way, a little beyond the fifth milestone from the Porta S. Sebastiano. When burnt, the ashes were placed in an urn in a tomb, or in a *columbarium*, so called from the pigeon-holes cut in the walls for the reception of the remains of a large number of persons.

Of private tombs, the most splendid were the mausolea of Augustus and Hadrian.

Remains of the mausoleum of Augustus may still be seen in the wall of the Teatro Umberto in the Via dei Pontefici. It was a circular building of white marble, enclosing a conical mound of earth, planted with cypresses. On the top of the mound was a bronze statue of the emperor. The entrance was flanked by bronze pillars inscribed with the *Res gestae Divi Augusti*, an account prepared by Augustus of the events of his reign, placed there after his death in accordance with his instructions. At a later time the entrance was marked by two obelisks, of which one

now stands in front of the Quirinal Palace, and the other in the Piazza S. M. Maggiore.

Though this great tomb had to wait forty years for the ashes of its founder, it was not long empty. In B.C. 23, Marcellus, son of the emperor's sister Octavia, husband of his daughter Julia, nephew and son-in-law of Augustus, and chosen by him as his heir and successor in the purple, died of fever at the early age of twenty. The grief of the emperor was profound. The theatre of Marcellus, of which some remains still exist, was dedicated by Augustus to the memory of his nephew more surely immortalised by the verses of Vergil, ending with the lines :—

> 'Heu, miserande puer! si qua fata aspera rumpas,
> Tu Marcellus eris. Manibus date lilia plenis.
> Purpureos spargam flores animamque nepotis
> His saltem adcumelem donis et fungar inani
> Munere.' *Æneid, vi.* 860 *et seq.*

It is said that Octavia, the mother of Marcellus, fainted when she heard these verses recited.

In this mausoleum were also deposited the ashes of Augustus himself; of Marcus Agrippa, his able lieutenant, and second husband of his daughter Julia; Octavia his sister, widow of Marcus Antonius; Caius and Lucius, his nephews; the Empress Livia, his widow; Drusus and the Emperor Tiberius, sons of Livia; Drusus, son of Tiberius; Antonia, widow of the elder Drusus; Germanicus, her son; Agrippina, widow of Germanicus; her sons Drusus, the Emperor Nero and the Emperor Caius, better known as Caligula; the Emperor Claudius; Brittanicus, the son of Claudius; and, forty years later, the Emperor Nerva, the only one not related to the family of Augustus. Of these eighteen illustrious persons, Marcellus, Agrippa, Octavia, Caius, Lucius and

Drusus all predeceased the emperor, and all died natural deaths. Augustus was very unfortunate in losing so many of his nearest and most important relations during his lifetime. Marcellus, Caius and Lucius, each in turn, was prepared for the honour of succeeding to the Imperial position, and each died prematurely. Of the eleven relatives whose ashes followed those of Augustus, three were murdered because they were emperors, five were murdered to prevent them from becoming emperors, and the remaining three were women—Livia the empress, Agrippina, starved to death by Tiberius, and Antonia, whose son, daughter-in-law and three grandsons were amongst the victims.

The Imperial vaults were ransacked by the Goths under Alaric, and the mausoleum itself was injured by the Normans under Robert Guiscard. It then became a Colonna fortress.

In 1367 the body of Cola di Rienzi, after being hung by the feet from a balcony near the church of S. Marcello during two whole days, where boys pelted it with stones, was dragged along the Corso to the 'Campo dell' Augusta' and there burnt by the Jews, acting upon the orders of a Colonna. The mausoleum was used in the nineteenth century for bull-fights, and is now converted into a theatre. The marble pedestal on which had stood the cinerary urn of Agrippina, wife of Germanicus, and mother of Caligula, is now in the court of the Palace of the Conservators in the Capitol. A hole scooped out in it served in the Middle Ages as the standard measure for grain.

The mausoleum built by order of the most magnificent of all the Roman patrons of architecture, the Emperor Hadrian, far surpassed in splendour the effort of Augustus. The last niche in the Augustan tomb was occupied by the ashes of Nerva, and Trajan's remains were placed under the fine column in his own forum.

His successor Hadrian determined to erect a monument which should rival the tomb of Mausolus himself. He chose a fine site on the further (right) bank of the Tiber, and prepared for the final effect by constructing a bridge, the Pons Ælius (Ponte St. Angelo), resting on massive arches, and covered with statues, which formed a grand approach to the tomb. The mausoleum had a square basement, over which rose a circular tower ornamented with columns, between which were placed statues by the ablest artists of the day. One of these statues, the Barberini Faun, now in the gallery at Munich, has luckily been preserved. The circular portion of the building was surmounted by a gilded pyramidal roof. On the summit there stood, according to some authorities, the bronze fir cone now in the Vatican; according to others, a colossal bronze group representing Hadrian in a chariot drawn by four horses, after the plan of the tomb of Mausolus, its Grecian prototype. The walls were of immense thickness, square blocks of peperino, faced both outside and inside with slabs of white Parian marble.

'Over the magnificent Ælian Bridge,' says Story, 'came the funeral processions which bore the ashes of the dead emperors to their last resting-place. Facing the bridge was one of the great golden gates which, swinging open, let through the train into a long, dark, sloping corridor, arched above, cased in marble at the sides, and paved in black-and-white mosaic. Over this gentle rise the train passed in, its torches flaring, its black-robed *præficae* chanting the dirge of the dead, and its wailing trumpets echoing and pealing down the hollow vaulted tunnel. Next came the *mimes* declaiming solemn passages from the tragic poets, and followed by waxen figures representing the ancestors of the dead emperor, and clad in the robes they had worn in life. Behind them streamed great standards blazoned

with the records of the emperor's deeds and triumphs. Last came the funeral couch of ivory, draped with Attalic vestments embroidered with gold, over which a black veil was cast. It was borne on the shoulders of his nearest relations and friends, and followed by the crowd of slaves made free by his will, and wearing the *pileum* in token of the fact. Over the bridge they slowly passed, in at the golden gate, and up the hollow-sounding corridor, till, after making the complete interior circuit of the walls, they entered the vast cavernous chamber, where they laid at last the dead ashes of him who, living, had ruled the world.'

The architectural enterprises of Hadrian gave him amongst Roman emperors a position similar to that held by Shah Jehan in India. The greatest builder of the Moguls, standing at the summit of the power of the Mogul Empire—as Hadrian did of the Roman Empire—achieved his greatest triumph in the erection of a mausoleum, which is still in some respects the most beautiful building in the world. The Taj Mahal at Agra holds the position amongst human monuments which formerly belonged to the mausoleum of Hadrian.

As unfortunate as Augustus, Hadrian buried in the tomb prepared for himself the ashes of his beloved adopted son Ælius Verus, who, like Marcellus, died at an early age, when the sceptre of the world was waiting for him. Then came the founder; and after him the Emperors Antoninus Pius, Marcus Aurelius, Lucius Verus, Commodus, Septimius Severus and Caracalla, the virtuous and vicious together.

The Roman law forbade burial within the city walls. The whole circumference of Rome became a vast Necropolis, decorated, as Lanciani tells us, with 300,000 tombs. Remains of many are still to be seen on the Via Latina and the Via Appia, where are also specimens of the Columbaria, a form of building un-

known beyond Rome. The Columbarium was private, speculative, or co-operative : erected for a single family and their household ; or by a speculator who sold the lots separately to any purchasers ; or by an association of friends or shareholders. Some of them held several thousand urns.

Believing in the resurrection of the body, the Christians were even more particular than the Romans as to the interment of their dead. Poor men, for the most part, and joined together by a religion which places all men on an equality, they naturally agreed to be all buried in the same place, and contributed, each as his wealth or poverty permitted, to a common fund for buying and excavating the site. The land, being either given by a wealthy Christian, or bought by the burial club, became a *locus religiosus*, under the protection of the Government. In Roman—and thence in English—law all the air above a given spot, and all the earth beneath it, belongs to the owner of the surface. When the Christians grew in numbers, the *fossores* (diggers) having excavated all the soil immediately below the surface, and filled all the niches with corpses, could not extend their operations laterally in any direction because that would have taken them under a site belonging to the neighbouring proprietor. They were obliged to excavate a second layer below the first, and then a third. As many as five layers have been found in one catacomb. Thus, though they do not extend beyond the third milestone from the walls of the city, the total length of the galleries excavated is believed to amount to about 600 miles, and the number of graves to 2,000,000. These are, however, mere estimates, for the greater part of *Roma sotterranea* has not yet been explored. Volcanic deposits of ashes and lava, forming a stone called *tufa granulare*, are found under the surface around Rome in

the shape of low hills, or islands, separated from the next hill of similar hardness by a less solid material. In this tufa the Christian *fossores* dug galleries or passages, 3 to 5 feet wide, and about 8 feet in height; and in the walls they cut niches, *loculi*, 8 feet wide, to the number of four or five, one above the other. The *loculus* or grave was sometimes made to contain two or even three bodies, but generally only one. It was closed by a marble slab, on which the name of the deceased, and perhaps a Christian emblem, would be cut. More important graves, *arcosolia*, had an arch excavated over the tomb. Still larger areas, *cubicula*, were family vaults or chapels, surrounded by *loculi* and *arcosolia*, and used as places of worship.

The Christians carried out the usual Eastern rites of the unction of the body with aromatic oils or balsams. Tertullian says that more of these perfumes were imported from the East for the Christians than for burning before the idols of the Gentiles. The bodies were, as a rule, for hygienic reasons, enclosed in a layer of cement or plaster.

Originally the Christians called these excavated areas cemeteries or sleeping-places. The earliest known use of the word catacomb is in a Christian calendar of the third or fourth century, where the Feast of St. Sebastian is marked to be kept on the 22nd January *in Catacumbas*. The church of S. Sebastiano ad Catacumbas, about two miles outside the Porta S. Sebastiano, is said to have temporarily received the bodies of SS. Peter and Paul for safe interment. This tradition gave to the church and cemetery a great sanctity, and made it a favourite goal for pilgrims in the Middle Ages, when the entrances to the other catacombs had been blocked up and lost, and their very existence forgotten. It is only, indeed, in the most recent times, since De Rossi's discoveries in

CAMPANILE AND FACADE OF SS. GIOVANNI E PAOLO

the catacomb of S. Calixtus, that the attention of travellers has been diverted from S. Sebastiano. The 'cœmeterium ad catacumbas,' as it was called, was regarded as the one and only Christian cemetery. From this origin all similar excavations for burial, even those in the East by Jews and others, made long before the era of Christ, and which the Christians imitated, have obtained the name of catacomb; and thus a word which originally referred to a certain locality outside the wall of Rome is now used to denote a method of burial.

The Christians were not molested in their use of the catacombs until the persecutions of Decius, Gallus and Valerian. An edict of Valerian, in 257, forbade all Christian assemblies, and all visits to the 'places called cemeteries.' The leader of the Christians, described in the inscription afterwards prepared by Damasus, as *rector*, and now known as Pope Sixtus II., was discovered by the Roman officials in the act of conducting a religious service in the catacomb of Pretextatus, and was beheaded there and then. From this time the Christians began to conceal the entrances to the catacombs, making communications to them from the interior of a sand-pit or a quarry. A staircase of that date may be seen in the catacombs of S. Calixtus, having an abrupt termination, the stone beneath the lowest step being entirely cut away to a depth of several feet. At this point the Christians used a ladder, handed to them by an assistant from below, for the further descent. But in spite of all their precautions their meetings were known to the authorities by the revelations of professional spies, who obtained admission by assuming the Christian character. 'You know the days of our meetings,' Tertullian complained, addressing the Roman judges; 'you have your eye upon us even in our most secret meetings, so you often come to sur-

prise and overwhelm us.' Perhaps the most terrible of all the stories of Christian martyrs is that of a large number of them who were seen entering one of the catacombs by the watchful Pagan officials. Both entrance and exit were immediately blocked up with stone and sand, making all escape impossible. Nearly a hundred years later, when Christianity had for fifty years been the State religion, Pope Damasus, an enthusiastic searcher, found the place. The skeletons of an entire congregation of men, women and children were discovered. Damasus would not have them disturbed, but opened a large window in the wall, from which the dreadful spectacle might be viewed.

After the adoption of Christianity as the State religion, burying in and about the basilicas began to supersede the use of the catacombs. Very few inscriptions have been found later than the year 400, and from 410, the year of the sack of Rome by Alaric, the catacombs were definitely abandoned as places of sepulture. The fourth century, which saw the gradual disuse of the catacombs for burial, also witnessed their cult. Utility gave way to adoration, worship, pilgrimage. The crypts, stairs, entrances, air-shafts, were all enlarged, and an air of triumph was given to the subterranean areas. Pope Damasus prosecuted a vigorous search for the bodies of martyrs, and, in characters invented specially for the purpose, caused inscriptions to be cut over the most interesting graves.

In his day the catacombs were daily visited by large numbers of strangers, and also by the Romans themselves, many of whom found there inscriptions bearing the names of their own relatives or friends. The pilgrims were in the habit of leaving messages to the dead, prayers, or mere records of their names, cut in the walls. The explorer, De Rossi, was directed in his search for the Papal crypt in the catacomb of Calix-

tus by one of these *graffiti*, which ran, 'Sancte Suste, in mente habeas,' referring to the martyred Pope Sixtus II.

The catacombs were ransacked by the Goths under Vitiges in 537, and again by the Lombards in 755. Pope Paul I. in 757 began to remove the bodies to the various churches within the city; and his example was followed by Paschal I. on a larger scale in 817, and continued by Sergius II. (844) and Leo IV. (847.) All bodies found in the catacombs were now regarded as those of martyrs, and much devastation was done by relic-hunters, who carried away whatever they could lay hands on. After the middle of the ninth century, the catacombs, entirely neglected, fell to ruin, and their entrances became blocked up and obscured. Except for the small and insignificant *sotteranea* of S. Sebastiano ad Catacumbas, their position was lost, their very existence forgotten.

On the 31st May 1578 some workmen who were digging in a vineyard on the Via Salaria, about two miles beyond the walls, accidentally came upon a gallery of graves, with Christian frescoes, sarcophagi and inscriptions. The discovery excited the greatest interest and astonishment. It was thought that a new city had been found. Strange to say, when the first excitement was over, the workmen were allowed to rob and destroy these crypts, so that all trace of them has now disappeared. Attention had, however, been directed to the subterranean burying-places, and it became common for strangers to Rome to be taken into the openings leading to the catacombs. Antony Munday published in London, 1599, the first book on the subject. 'Without Rome,' he says, 'there is a huge great vault, which they call St. Priscilla's Grote; and within this vault there is a great many of several places, turning one this way, another that way, as in

one street there may be divers streets and lanes turning every way; so that when they go into this vault, they tie the end of a line at the going in, and so go on by the line, else they might chance to lose themselves, and so miss of their coming out again.' This fate nearly overtook Antonio Bosio, the pioneer of catacomb exploration, on the occasion of his first visit, with some friends, on the 10th December 1593. They went too far, lost their way, and their lights burned out. 'I began to fear,' says Bosio, 'that I should defile by my vile corpse the sepulchres of the martyrs.' It happens even now, sometimes, especially when a great number go in together and are thus beyond the control of the guide, that one or two of the party, straying from the rest, lose their way, and wander helplessly further and further from the entrance. Two Americans spent the night in the damp and darkness, in the summer of 1900, before they were rescued by a searching party.

From the time of Bosio the catacombs have been diligently scoured by visitors, who soon degenerated into mere pilferers. 'The catacombs,' says Lanciani, 'owe their sad fate to the riches which they contained. If the work of exploration has been carried on actively in the last three centuries, it is on account of the rich harvest which searching parties were sure to reap whenever they chanced to come across a catacomb, or part of a catacomb, yet unexplored.' Sometimes an effort would be made to remove the frescoes, to their almost certain destruction. Even the archæologists, Aringhi, Boldetti, Marangoni, Bottari joined in this spoliation. They carried away inscriptions, or other objects of interest and value, and placed them in distant museums, indifferent to the importance of the environment in which they were found. It was not until the latter part of the nineteenth century that

De Rossi, by his standard work, *Roma Sotterranea*, opened the era of scientific research in the catacombs.

A large number of miscellaneous objects have been found either in the graves, or as marks of identification or decoration outside, such as cameos, rings, bronze statuettes, glass bowls or phials, amphoræ, lamps marked with Christian symbols, coins, medals. Some bodies have been discovered with a nail or a hatchet firmly fixed in the skull, and others with instruments of torture lying in the grave. It was the custom to bury, with a martyr, his blood-stained clothing, or a sponge or glass phial containing his blood. Many of these phials have traces of what may possibly be dried blood, and some, when discovered after a lapse of more than 1500 years, still contained a liquid of reddish tint. Chemical analysis has not conclusively established that the fluid was blood. The colour may be due to wine or other staining matter.

The inscriptions on Pagan tombs frequently contain descriptive epitaphs, which sometimes extend to the length of a biography. Much information on Roman customs has been obtained from this source. Many of these inscriptions bear pathetic messages, others imprecations. Lanciani quotes the following. A widow writes: 'To the adorable, blessed soul of L. Sempronius Firmus. We knew, we loved each other from childhood: married, an impious hand separated us at once. Oh, infernal gods, do be kind and merciful to him, and let him appear to me in the silent hours of the night.' In another, a freedman thus writes of a companion: 'Erected to the memory of Memmius Clarus by his co-servant, Memmius Urbanus. I knew that there never was the shade of a disagreement between thee and me; never a cloud passed over our common happiness. I swear to the gods of heaven and hell, that we worked faithfully and lovingly

together, that we were set free from servitude on the same day and in the same house: nothing would ever have separated us except this fatal hour.' These are some of the curses: 'Anyone who injures my tomb, or steals its ornaments, may he see the death of all his relatives.' And, 'Whoever steals the nails from this structure, may he thrust them into his own eyes.' This, 'Lawyers and the evil-eyed keep away from my tomb,' is characteristic of the Roman dislike of the crowd of pushing lawyers who filled the Forum, and their belief, still prevalent in Italy and other superstitious countries, in the evil eye.

The greater security of subterranean burial is shown by the fact that none of the catacomb inscriptions exhibit any fear of possible desecration or spoliation. There is less grief and more hope in the Christian epitaphs. Thus: 'Prima, mayest thou live in the glory of God and in the peace of our Lord.' . . 'Domitian, single of soul, sleeps in peace.' . . . 'Antonia, sweet soul in peace, may God refresh.'

The word 'vale,' so common in Pagan epitaphs, changes to 'in pace,' and 'vivas in deo.'

The walls of the catacombs, especially in the larger chapels, the *cubicula*, were covered with emblems, symbols or pictures. The Constantinian monogram, ☧, frequently occurs, made of the Greek *chi* and *ro*, from the name of Christ. It was believed that this mark appeared in the sky to Constantine, and caused his conversion; and its use denotes reference to the triumph of the Church. Some of the most common symbolical marks are the anchor, which means hope, firmness, patience. The fish, denoting the Person of Christ under the sacrament of the eucharist, is generally found in eucharistic scenes, and with it the dolphin as a saviour of the shipwrecked. A bird means the soul, or, in general, Christians; if

in a garden or on a tree, it symbolises the joys of paradise; if pecking bread, it refers to the soul of Christians fed by the eucharist; if holding a branch of palm, triumphant; a branch of olive, the soul in peace; if drinking from or perched on a cup, or pecking at a grape, refreshment. The peacock is the particular soul of the deceased person, and is a sign of immortality. The dove represents the Holy Spirit; the sheep the flock of Christ. The nimbus or glory round the head of Christ and the saints was in use among the Pagans as the symbol of power, and hence of divinity, and was copied from them by the Christians. It encircles the head of Herod in the mosaics of S. Maria Maggiore. The crown means victory and recompense: it appears on the heads of virgins and martyrs.

GATE OF S. COSIMATO

The biblical subjects illustrated in the catacombs have in nearly every case a symbolical meaning. The common picture of Jonah and the whale refers to the Resurrection. Susanna and the elders depicts the Church in the world, or the new value set upon chastity by the Christians. Daniel among the lions refers to the sufferings and final deliverance of the Christians. Moses striking the rock depicts salvation

through baptism. The Good Shepherd is, of course, Christ. The meaning of these symbols and pictures was a secret carefully kept among themselves by the Christians. Many miracles also were represented—the raising of Lazarus, the multiplying of the loaves, etc. Never in the catacombs do we find any reference to the Passion, Flagellation, Crucifixion, subjects which the great artists of the Middle Ages treated so very frequently. The thoughts of the early Church were directed to the Resurrection; in later times to penitence, sorrow and self sacrifice. Thus the Christian conquered Paganism by the hope of heaven, and was made subservient to the Church by the fear of hell.

The reverence, the watchful care, the expenditure in money and labour, which both Pagan and Christian gave to their dead, was due to the vague hope of the one, the firm belief of the other, in a future life. 'Death,' says the Pagan Propertius, 'is not the end; the wan shade escapes from the dying embers.' The Christian, St. Jerome, is more confident. He says, 'In Christianis mors non est mors, sed dormitio, sed somnus.' Some of the most advanced Pagans tried to believe in the immortality of the soul, as of a shadow; but the Christian had no doubt of the resurrection of the body.

I mean spoke as follows of the soul, or shade, of Pompey:—'His spirit could not rest in the glowing embers, nor scanty ashes contain that mighty shade. He sprang forth from the fires, and leaving the body beneath, which they had shut half devoured, and the lowly pyre, he rose to the sphere of heaven. Where the dark air is joined to the poles that bear the stars, the space that lies between the earth and the journeyings of the moon—there dwell those spirits almost divine, whose burning virtue kept them pure in life,

prepared them for the lowest shores of æther, and brought them to the everlasting spheres. Not by fragrant spices on the pyre, nor by much gold, can man come hither! When he had filled his soul with the true light, gazing with awe upon the planets and the stars of the firmament, he looked upon the night in which our days are spent, and laughed at the insult done to his body.'

The Christian's hope in the resurrection of both soul and body was based, not upon a personal greatness which even death failed to extinguish, but upon the Love and Mercy of God. It is thus expressed by Prudentius :—'Soon the time will come when heat shall revive these bones, when blood shall gush anew in these veins, when life shall resume this abode which it has left. These bodies, long inert, which lay in the dust of tombs, shall spring upward once again to join their former souls. . . . Earth, receive and keep in thy maternal breast this mortal spoil which we confide to thee; it was the dwelling of a soul created by the Author of all things; 'twas here a spirit lived, quickened by the wisdom of Christ. Cover this body which we place within thy breast. One day He who created it and fashioned it with His hands will ask thee for His work again.'

CHAPTER IV

The Barbarians

'Gothorum lues est civilitus custodita.' *Cassiodorus.*

THE noble but pathetic figure of Marcus Aurelius closes the Golden Age. He devoted himself heart and soul to the welfare of the State. A philosopher and thinker, he cheerfully engaged in the uncongenial life of military adventure on the far frontiers of the Empire, and celebrated two triumphs for his victories, with characteristic generosity sharing the first with his brother Lucius Verus, the second with his son Commodus. Unhappily for Rome, Marcus Aurelius was blind perhaps deliberately, weakly blind to the worthlessness of this son. He abandoned the principle of adoption which had given Rome the glorious age of the Antonines; and, submitting himself to the influence of his wife Faustina, allowed the destinies of the Empire to be controlled by Commodus, whose incompetence was already apparent. With Commodus began the fall of Rome. From his time the emperor was the nominee of the soldiers, who sold their votes to the most liberal or the most capable general. They demanded bribes, good pay and booty, and did not hesitate to murder an emperor who failed to satisfy their desires. Between Marcus Aurelius and Diocletian there were twenty-six emperors, whose average reign was less than four years; of whom twenty-three came

to violent ends, and probably two others would have been murdered if they had not died within a year of their elevation. One of them, Septimius Severus, reigned for eighteen years, and was not murdered, a remarkable achievement in the third century. His arch in the Forum, and palace on the Palatine, still exist to remind us of his good fortune.

Some of the short-lived emperors of the third century are remembered. Caracalla, son of Septimius Severus, has left a name for mad cruelty; by his orders, and under his personal direction, his brother Geta was killed in the presence of their mother, the beautiful Julia Domna. Elagabalus, among many competitors, may perhaps be awarded the palm for shamelessness. Alexander Severus, living in such an age and in such a position, astonishes us by his virtues. Maximin, a Thracian peasant, owed his elevation to his gigantic physical proportions. He was 8 feet high, a brutal savage, totally ignorant of the arts and the sentiments of a civilised human being. Gibbon relates that 'A conspiracy against his life was either discovered or imagined, and Magnus, a consular senator, was named as the principal author of it. Without a witness, without a trial, and without an opportunity of defence, Magnus, with 4000 of his supposed accomplices, were put to death.' Philip, an Arab by birth, 'and consequently,' says Gibbon, 'in the earlier part of his life, a robber by profession,' has been claimed as the first Christian emperor. Decius, Claudius and Aurelian manfully opposed the inroad of the Goths. Decius was defeated and killed. Claudius obtained the name of Gothicus for his victories. Aurelian also defeated the barbarians, and, as a protection against them, built the walls which, greatly restored, are still standing round the city.

The birth of Diocletian was lower than that of any of his predecessors, for his parents were slaves. He was the first to see that the Empire had become too large to be controlled from one centre, and divided it into four parts, with capitals at Nicomedia (in Bithynia), Sirmium (near Belgrade), Trèves (Trier) and Milan.

Rome was neglected. In the twentieth year of his reign, Diocletian paid his first visit to Rome, there to celebrate his triumph. He left it in two months. He curtailed the numbers and the privileges of the Prætorian Guard, and by his persistent absence from Rome deprived the Senate of all connection with the Imperial court, and of all power. This anti-Roman policy of Diocletian was followed by his successors. Except for the short visits of Constantine in 312, Constantius in 357, Theodosius in 389, and Honorius for his triumph in 404, Rome was abandoned by the emperors and their court.

The division inaugurated by Diocletian broke down owing to the jealousies of the four partners. When he abdicated, a period of civil war began, as many as six emperors at one time taking the field. The survivor was Constantine.

Marching upon Rome, he defeated one of his rivals, Maxentius, at a place called Saxa Rubra, about nine miles from Rome. Maxentius tried to escape back into the city over the Milvian Bridge (Ponte Molle), but amidst a crowd of fugitives he was pushed into the river, and drowned. In the Hall of Constantine, in the Vatican, there is a fine fresco designed by Raphael, painted by Giulio Romano, commemorating the event.

In 324, thirty-seven years after the division of the Empire by Diocletian, Constantine re-united it under his own sway. He deserved the title of 'Great'

more than most of those to whom it has been applied, for two acts which have enormously influenced the whole subsequent history of Europe. He built Constantinople; and he adopted Christianity.

The site of Byzantium, much superior to the Nicomedia of Diocletian, was marked by nature for a great city. On the confines of Europe and Asia, it was admirably placed for defence both against the Persians and against the barbarians on the Danube. Constantine, born near the Danube, had spent his youth in the courts and armies of the East, and naturally preferred an Eastern capital for his residence. Policy led him to build Constantinople, inclination and policy induced him to live there. The desertion of Rome, begun by Diocletian, thus became the fixed policy of the Roman emperors; and the two great Roman powers of the third century, the Prætorian Guards and the Senate, lost all their influence.

The other great act of Constantine, the adoption of Christianity, had unexpected results. By cutting down the temporal power of Rome he had cleared the soil for a fresh spiritual growth, which he then further encouraged by his own direct personal approval and support. The resultant division of civil and ecclesiastical affairs, and the ultimate triumph of pope over emperor, no man could have foretold.

The fall of the Western Empire has been ascribed to causes most numerous and most diverse. The ultimate factor was the inability of Rome to keep in subjection the dependent provinces, or to withstand the direct attacks of the barbarians. But how was it that in the fifth century Rome failed to do what had been so easy in the first?

One of the chief causes of weakness was the gradual depopulation of Italy. Augustus passed laws to encourage the reproduction of the human species. They

were ineffectual, and the population went on slowly but surely decreasing, when the plague suddenly appeared and carried off immense numbers of the citizens in the reign of Marcus Aurelius. The next—the third—century was one of almost continuous civil war, which caused a further enormous waste of Italian life. And then the building of Constantinople drained the country of nobles, mechanics and soldiers for the new capital. The institution of slavery worked in the same direction. Every landed proprietor was liable to be called into the ranks of the army. A poor man's land was uncared for in his absence, while a rich man could afford to engage slaves to till the soil. Thus the land fell into the hands of large proprietors, the number of slaves was increased, and the normal growth of the population discouraged. The marriage rate fell, and infanticide became common.

The place of the disappearing Italians was taken by barbarians, who entered the armies in large numbers, and received direct encouragement to settle in the country as agriculturists. They acquired some of the civilised habits of the Romans, but were alien in sympathy from the Roman spirit.

'The significance of these semi-barbarians,' says Bury, 'is that they smoothed the way for the invader who dismembered the Empire; not being attached by hereditary tradition to Roman ideas and the Roman name, but having within them the Teutonic spirit of individual freedom, directly opposed to the Roman spirit of tyrannical universal law, they were not prejudiced sufficiently strongly in favour of the Roman Empire to preserve it, although they admired and partook of its superior civilisation.'

Christianity also, by its democratic assertion of the equality of all human beings before God, by its conviction that Christ died for all men, and by its doctrine

of a divine law superior to all temporal law, was essentially anti-Roman. The tender spirit of Christianity revolutionised the Roman world. 'When a certain woman,' says Pater, 'gathered for interment the insulted remains of Nero, the Pagan world surmised that she must be a Christian: only a Christian would have been likely to conceive so chivalrous a devotion towards wretchedness.' 'We refuse to be witnesses even of a homicide commanded by the laws,' pleads a Christian apologist; 'we take no part in your cruel sports, nor in the spectacles of the amphitheatre, and we hold that to witness a murder is the same thing as to commit one.' 'If I had been there with my Franks,' exclaimed the rude barbarian Chlodowig, on hearing the story of Jesus Christ, 'I would have avenged His injuries.'

It is this aspect of the Christian faith, its humanity, which ultimately dissolved the Roman world. Even Marcus Aurelius assisted the reaction against all Roman institutions, by the gloomy melancholy of his philosophy. 'Take from thyself grief,' said the Christian, 'for it is the sister of doubt and ill-temper.' Cheerfulness, sympathy, freedom, hopefulness, generous appreciation of the rights and the merits of the individual, these were the forces with which the Christian entirely destroyed and extirpated the Pagan religion. It was the opposition of such ideas to all Roman thought and tradition which gave them their strength.

To recapitulate shortly, the fall of the Western Empire was due to the material effect of depopulation, and the moral influence of barbarian Christianity. Depopulation arose from many causes:—1. Insufficient reproduction, due to the prevalence of slavery and the growing desire for the luxuries of town life. 2. Loss of life by war, pestilence, and infanticide, emigration to Constantinople. 3. Poverty, produced by ex-

travagant expenditure on the Imperial Court; by the waste of town life; by the growth of an idle proletariat in the towns, fed and amused at the public expense; by war, plague and famine. While the Roman and Italian race was fast disappearing, its place was gradually taken by barbarians, who, as foreigners, had no patriotic desire to support Rome, and, as Christians, were opposed to the cold tyranny and suppression of sympathy for the individual, which characterised the Roman centralised State system. These were the causes which made the conquest of Rome, and dissolution of the Roman Empire, so easy a feat for Alaric and his successors.

From the beginning of the fifth century the barbarians came down upon Rome in a constant stream of immigrants. The great Völkerwanderung from North-East and North had begun. The new arrivals came not only, or chiefly, as conquerors, but as settlers; though they were ready enough to join the standard of any great soldier who might be undertaking marauding expeditions on a large scale. Alaric the Visigoth entered Italy at the head of an army of mixed barbarians in 402; in 451 came Attila the Hun; in 455 Genseric the Vandal; in 472 Ricimer; in 476 Odoacer; in 493 Theodoric the Ostrogoth; and in 568 Alboin the Lombard.

The three chief characters in the drama of the fall of Rome are the Emperor Honorius, his Vandal general, Stilicho, and his Visigoth opponent, Alaric.

Honorius, son of the Emperor Theodosius, was eleven years of age when he succeeded his father in 395. When he had arrived at the age of manhood, he distinguished himself above all the great men who had worn the purple before him, by the practical interest he took in the rearing of poultry. He devoted himself to breeding fowls. To his finest and most beloved bird

he proudly gave the name of Roma. When, in 410, the chamberlain excitedly announced to his master the news that Rome had perished, the emperor, deeply grieved, was unwilling to credit the loss he had sustained; 'For,' said he, 'it is only an hour since she was feeding out of my hand.' On learning that it was only the capital of the world that had fallen, he severely reprimanded the attendant for having incautiously given him an unpleasant shock. He quite thought, at first, that he had lost his beautiful fowl.

Stilicho was a tall, handsome, fair-haired soldier, the son of a Vandal chief. His abilities raised him to the highest position in the army; he obtained the favour of the Emperor Theodosius, who gave him his niece and adopted daughter Serena for a wife; and his daughter Maria was married to her cousin, the Emperor Honorius.

The Visigoth Alaric (All-Ruler) was born on a small island at the mouth of the Danube. At one time he led a band of Gothic auxiliaries in the army of Theodosius. A Christian of the Arian sect, well acquainted with the Roman court and army, he was very far from being a savage.

Alaric began his march upon Rome in the year 402, but he had scarcely crossed the Alps and descended into Italy, when he was met and defeated by Stilicho at the battle of Pollentia, near Turin. For this victory Honorius celebrated a great triumph at Rome, which he visited specially for that purpose, and Stilicho was permitted to ride in the same chariot with the emperor. Milan was now recognised as too much exposed and too little capable of defence for the seat of the Imperial court, which Honorius removed to Ravenna on the Adriatic, a few miles south of the mouth of the river Po. Surrounded by a swamp, the natural defensive strength of Ravenna was increased by elaborate fortifi-

cations. From this time until the middle of the eighth century Ravenna was regarded as the capital of Italy.

In 408 Alaric marched into Italy again, and demanded a sum of money. The Senate assembled at Rome to debate the question of war or peace, and, under the influence of Stilicho, agreed to pay 4000 pounds of gold (£160,000 sterling). Stilicho's policy of conciliation towards the barbarians was most distasteful to the proud, but powerless, Romans. He incurred further odium from such of them as still favoured the Pagan religion by his order that the Sibylline books, the oracles of Rome, should be burned. When he stripped the gold plates from the doors of the great temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, it was whispered in Rome that on the inner side of the plates was found the words, *Misero regi servantur* (Reserved for a miserable king). His wife Serena, seeing a precious necklace on the neck of the goddess Rhea, the mother of the gods, took it off and wore it. The sacrilegious act was witnessed by an old woman, the last of the Vestal Virgins, whose loud curses long haunted the dreams of the despoiler.

The Vandal was unpopular at Rome; and Honorius, at Ravenna, was beyond the reach of his influence, and readily listened to the stories told him of Stilicho's designs upon the Imperial dignity. He had become too powerful. He was accused of a plot to murder the emperor, and by his order was executed. There is no doubt that Stilicho was in secret correspondence with Alaric; but his career, his character, and the course of subsequent events, combine to clear his name of the charge of treason. His aim was, if possible, to make a friend of the formidable barbarian.

The fall of Stilicho was followed by an event which explains the kind of influence that ruined the great patriotic general, and exhibits the Romans of the fifth

century in their true colours. To the Romans, Stilicho was represented as a barbarian in league with his compatriots for the destruction of the Empire. Thirty thousand barbarian auxiliaries were enrolled under the Roman banner. The same feeling which demanded the execution of the Vandal general was now turned against the foreign auxiliaries. But the degenerate, bounty-fed Romans of the fifth century could not summon up courage to attack the terrible barbarians. They still, however, felt themselves capable of some glorious deeds. They could kill women, and also children. While the husbands were away on the frontiers defending the Empire, the descendants of Camillus, Scipio and Cæsar fell gleefully upon the women and children left behind in the different towns of Italy, killing all whom they could discover. This was the death-blow to Rome. The outraged barbarians called upon Alaric to lead them against the contemptible, perfidious, base nation. Honorius having refused his moderate demands, and the 4000 pounds of gold voted by the Senate not having been paid, Alaric marched without opposition through Italy and surrounded the walls of Rome with his troops.

No hostile army had approached the Imperial City for more than six hundred years. It was a very different Rome which defied Hannibal. Then a resolute, united and manly people, suffering fearful defeats at the hands of one of the greatest military leaders known to history, finally triumphed by dint of sheer pluck and patriotism. The Rome before Alaric was a scene of architectural splendour, of enormous wealth and luxury, of idleness and self-indulgence. Ammianus Marcellius tells us that the Roman nobles, 'whose poor and invincible ancestors were not distinguished from the meanest of the soldiers by the delicacy of their food or the splendour

of their apparel, now reckoned their importance according to the loftiness of their chariots and the weighty

ON THE WALLS NEAR THE LATERAN

magnificence of their dress. Should a fly presume to settle on the silken folds of their gilded umbrellas, should a sunbeam penetrate through some unguarded and imperceptible chink, they deplore their intolerable

hardships, and lament in affected language that they were not born in the land of Cimmerian darkness. In the exercise of domestic jurisdiction, the nobles of Rome express an exquisite sensibility for any personal injury, and a contemptuous indifference for the rest of the human race. When they have called for warm water, if a slave has been tardy in his obedience, he is instantly chastised with three hundred lashes; but should the same slave commit a wilful murder, the master will mildly observe that if he repeats the offence he shall not escape punishment. At the public baths they maintain a haughty demeanour which perhaps might have been excused in the great Marcellus after the conquest of Syracuse. Their vices, which degrade the moral character, are mixed with a puerile superstition that disgraces the understanding. There are many who do not presume to bathe, or to dive, or to appear in public, till they have diligently consulted, according to the rules of astrology, the situation of Mercury and the aspect of the moon. It is singular enough,' adds Marcellinus, 'that this vain credulity may often be discovered among the profane sceptics who impiously doubt or deny the existence of a celestial power.'

Many of these nobles had incomes which would be considered very large even in our own day. An annual revenue equivalent to £50,000 in our money was not unusual among senators, while the richer men had incomes amounting to £200,000. Some of them possessed large estates, even whole cities, in distant parts. The expense of a popular festival given by a public official would sometimes amount to £100,000.

While the nobles were in a contemptible condition of moral debility, 'the vile and wretched populace,' says Gibbon, 'must in a few generations have been totally extinguished, if it had not been continually

recruited by the manumission of slaves and the influx of strangers. As early as the time of Hadrian the capital had attracted the vices of the universe and the manners of the most opposite nations. The intemperance of the Gauls, the cunning and levity of the Greeks, the savage obstinacy of the Egyptians and Jews, the servile temper of the Asiatics, and the dissolute, effeminate prostitution of the Syrians, were mingled in the various multitude which, under the proud and false denomination of Romans, presumed to despise their fellow-subjects, and even their sovereigns, who dwelt beyond the precincts of the Eternal City.'

Yet so great was the prestige of Rome, the awe and reverence she aroused in all mankind, that Alaric seemed almost afraid to touch the prize which lay in his hands. When marching upon Rome he had been warned by a holy monk to abstain from his sacrilegious design, but excused himself by saying that he was obeying an impulse which he could not resist, a voice constantly urging him on with the words 'Penetrabis ad Urbem.'

Rome made little resistance. She sent ambassadors to Alaric with the message that the Roman people were prepared to make a peace on moderate terms, but were yet more prepared for war, and that if Alaric refused them fair terms he must prepare to meet an innumerable people who, with arms in their hands, and from long practice in their use, had no reason to dread the result of battle. Alaric replied simply, 'The thicker the grass the easier is it mowed.' Famine and pestilence compelled the Romans to beg for mercy. Alaric demanded all the gold, all the silver, all the movable property in the city, and all the slaves of barbarian origin. 'What then do you propose to leave to us?' asked one of the ambassadors. 'Your lives,' said Alaric. At length he agreed to accept

the ransom of 5000 pounds weight of gold, 30,000 pounds of silver, 4000 silken tunics, 3000 purple cloths, and 3000 pounds of pepper. The gold and silver would be equivalent to about £300,000, little more than the annual income of a rich senator.

The moderation of the barbarians, their unwillingness to hurt the renowned capital of the world, is remarkable. When Brennus and his Gauls captured the city in 390 B.C. they took all they could get and then set the town on fire. But 800 years of Roman glory lay between Brennus and Alaric, and this sufficed to stay the hand of the barbarian. The ransom was paid, though much of the gold and silver still remaining on the statues of the gods had to be stripped off for the purpose.

Alaric now proposed to constitute himself the champion of the Western Empire, a suggestion which met with favour from the same Senate that had hounded Stilicho to death for advocating such a policy. By placing Alaric in the position formerly held by Stilicho, they would but be exchanging one capable barbarian leader for another, taking a Visigoth for a Vandal, and the safety of Rome would be assured. But the feeble obstinacy of Honorius would not permit him to consent. He swore that he would never under any circumstances make peace with Alaric, but would wage perpetual war against him. All the high officers of state, safe in their impenetrable retreat at Ravenna, swore to the same effect, and while doing so touched the sacred head of the emperor himself. An oath by the emperor's head was the only one which the Romans of that time affected to reverence. Alaric, after some hesitation, marched once more upon Rome, at the same time begging Honorius to save the city from sack and destruction, by agreeing to his very moderate demands. But the oath stood in the way. 'A mere oath by the Almighty,' replied Jovius, the emperor's

chief adviser, 'would have mattered comparatively little, as we might safely have trusted to the divine good nature to overlook the apparent impiety. But an oath by the emperor's person was a very different matter, and so awful an imprecation as that must never be disregarded.' The Romans had not taken this terrible oath, and were so disgusted with the folly of Honorius, that they readily agreed to the suggestion of Alaric that the poultry-fancier at Ravenna should be dethroned, and a more capable man put in his place. Rome renounced her allegiance to Honorius and raised the prefect of the city, Attalus, already officially the second man in Rome after the emperor, to the throne of the Cæsars. Attalus at once bestowed upon Alaric the command which he desired. But Attalus proved himself an arrogant and incompetent ruler, and within a year Alaric found it necessary to strip him of the diadem and purple, and to send those insignia of royalty, as a sign of peace and friendship, to Honorius. Negotiations were again commenced between the barbarian and the emperor; but Honorius was as obstinate as ever. Then, in 410, the infuriated Visigoth marched with all his army upon the doomed city. There was, of course, no resistance.

Alaric had promised his followers the rewards of sack and pillage, but he ordered that none of the churches were to be touched, and commanded the right of asylum in the Apostolic basilicas of St. Peter and St. Paul to be respected. These orders were obeyed. But the Pagan temples, the public buildings, and all private houses were stripped of everything valuable and movable, while the luckless inhabitants were compelled to satisfy the wishes of their barbarian conquerors in every possible way. Alaric did not allow his men more than three days of pillage and enjoyment. Then he withdrew his army, carrying with him many waggon-

loads of gold, silver, jewels, spices, silks, furniture and other precious movables. Little other damage was done. The house of Sallust, near the Salarian Gate, by which the barbarians entered, is the only building they are known to have destroyed.

It is curious to observe the effect upon contemporary thought, of the pillage of Rome in 410. Two years previously Alaric had been bought off. The difference between paying a definite ransom extorted by force, and being obliged to allow the enemy to gather the spoil in his own way—between collecting the money for him, and leaving him to collect for himself—was felt to an exceptional degree in the Roman world. In the one case Rome was party to a definite negotiation ; in the other her wishes were not consulted, even as a matter of form. In its material aspect the spoliation of 410 differed from the robbery of 408 only in the amount carried away. But in the one case the prestige of the great city was destroyed, in the other honour was saved. To Rome this was the difference between life and death. In no city, or country, have the sentiments of glory and renown reached the extraordinary power which they held in Rome. Alaric himself was for a long time kept back by the mere name of Rome. The utter feebleness of Rome, her entire inability to oppose any serious attack, were well known. Her immense splendour and wealth were equally notorious. The stupendous magnificence of Rome was probably the one fact at that time known in every corner of the civilised world. After the death of Stilicho, what was it that stopped Alaric ? He was restrained by fear—fear of the goddess Roma. So when the news spread throughout Europe, Asia and Africa, that Rome had been forcibly and violently despoiled, a shudder of trembling horror passed through mankind. It was a calamity to the human race. The

great world-fetich had been insulted and trampled upon. All law, all order, even civilisation itself were—so it was believed—for ever destroyed by a wild brood of wandering savages. When the brazen hand of Alaric, by forcible violence and pillage, had destroyed the prestige of Rome, and given the world a dishonoured head, it was felt that society had received a shock from which there would be no recovery. These fears were, to a large extent, justified by the subsequent course of history. After Alaric came the chaos of the Dark Age. But the goddess Roma was to rise again and rule once more, in the name of the Saint and Apostle, Peter.

The imprecations of an outraged world were soon followed by the death of the sacrilegious violator. Before the end of the year Alaric was dead, probably of fever, near Reggio, in the south of Italy. To provide his body a resting-place safe from the avengers of Rome, the Gothic soldiers compelled their captives to turn the river Busento from its course, and, having deposited in its bed the remains of their hero, ordered them to restore the waters to their former channel over the grave. Then—so says Jordanes—they were all put to death, to prevent the exact site of the grave from ever being discovered.

After the death of Alaric Rome had a brief period of recovery. Honorius, in 417, brought his courtiers and his hens to the Palatine Hill. But the savage wanderers from the north continued to pour into Italy. The most terrible of them all, Attila the Hun, was marching upon Rome at the head of a band of ferocious murderers and robbers in 452, when the trembling Senate sent three ambassadors to meet him and beg for mercy, of whom one was the Bishop of Rome, Leo I. The superstitious fear of Rome had already come upon Attila. He had been warned that if he followed the

example of Alaric, he also would die within the year. Leo was the recognised and venerated chief of the Christian religion; and the stern eloquence of the holy man, added to the fears of the savage, saved Rome from the fate of Carthage. Nothing less than total destruction would have satisfied the wild brood who followed the 'Scourge of God.' Attila saw the Apostles Peter and Paul threatening him with drawn swords. The incident has been represented by Raphael in a beautiful fresco in the Stanza d'Eliodoro in the Vatican; and also in a relief by Algardi at the altar of St. Leo, in the left aisle of the tribune of St. Peter's.

Three years later, in 455, Leo again stood between a barbarian conqueror and Rome. As Genseric at the head of his Vandals was about to enter defenceless Rome, he was met by a procession of priests. Their leader, Leo, succeeded in obtaining a promise that the lives of the inhabitants should be spared, and the buildings saved from fire. Plunder was Genseric's object, not destruction. He took, as Alaric had done, whatever was valuable and portable. For fourteen days his men were busy, systematically collecting the treasures of the city. Their attention was especially turned towards the Imperial Palaces on the Palatine, and the great Temple of Jupiter on the Capitol, from the roof of which they carried off the gilded bronze tiles. The sacred vessels which Titus had brought from Jerusalem, the gold candlestick with seven branches, and the gold table, were part of the Vandal's spoil. He also carried away with him to his capital at Carthage a large number of Romans, as slaves.

The old-fashioned error of ascribing the destruction of Roman edifices to the wanton violence of Goths and Vandals, has taken a permanent form in the word

'Vandalism.' The amount of booty carried away on shipboard after a careful and methodical collection, extending over fourteen days, was doubtless much greater than Alaric's self-indulgent soldiers, working without system, were able to gather in three days. The promise of Genseric to Leo, that there should be no murder nor conflagration, was dictated by motives of avarice, a desire to concentrate the energies of his followers in gathering as much wealth as it was possible to carry away. If Vandalism meant mere robbery, it would certainly apply to Genseric the Vandal much more than to Alaric the Goth. But probably the events which followed Genseric's pillage have had a large share in creating the word. Rome never recovered the Vandal invasion. She lost at once most of her wealth and many of her inhabitants. Twenty years later, by the fall of the Western Empire, she lost for ever the name of 'Caput Mundi.'

After the departure of Genseric, Rome became the prize for which barbarian adventurers contended. In 472 Ricimer, a Sueve, besieged, captured and sacked Rome. He died suddenly in the same year. In 476 Odoacer, a barbarian of uncertain origin, at length put an end to the Western Empire. The last Roman emperor, a boy of fourteen, christened Romulus, took, on his elevation to the purple, the customary title of Augustus. After a reign of ten months he was deposed by Odoacer. Historians have adopted for the harmless lad the nickname of Augustulus, given him by his contemporaries. The last of the Roman emperors is known by the pathetic title of Romulus Augustulus.

Odoacer ruled Italy as king for seventeen years. His capital was Ravenna, whence he administered his kingdom with justice and benevolence. Rome con-

tinued to be governed by a prefect. In 483 Theodoric, invited by the Eastern emperor to expel the usurper, entered Italy at the head of his army of Ostrogoths. Odoacer, after being several times defeated in battle, shut himself in the impregnable Ravenna. By combining a sea-blockade with a land-investment Theodoric cut off all supplies, and Odoacer, after enduring the siege for three years, was obliged to capitulate from famine. Although in the terms of the surrender it was expressly stated that the life of the King of Italy would be spared, Theodoric invited his captive to a banquet, and there slew him with his own hand, the sword entering the defenceless victim's body at the neck, and cutting right down as far as the thigh. 'He had no bones in his body,' shouted the Goth in berserc frenzy.

The treacherous murderer proved a strong and able ruler. He continued the traditions of the Empire, and employed officials from the Imperial service. He gave Rome her former system of government, renewed her political position, and restored much of her material greatness. He repaired the aqueducts, the walls, and many public buildings. His bricks have been found in the Stadium of Domitian on the Palatine, and elsewhere, bearing the stamp, 'Bono Romae' ('For the good of Rome'), or 'Domino Nostro Theodorico Felix Roma' ('Happy Rome to our Lord Theodoric'). He gave great shows of games and races in the Circus Maximus. It was his aim to form a Teutonic-Roman nation, in which the vigour of the one should be supplemented by the culture of the other; to fuse together Barbarian strength and Roman civilisation. But the Goths and Vandals—Alaric, Genseric, Theodoric—were all Arians, while the Romans and Italians were Athanasians, a difference of opinion upon the now vital question of religion, which would alone have

sufficed to keep the two races apart. And before any commencement towards fusion had been made by intermarriage, the armies of the Eastern Emperor Justinian had driven the Teutons out of Italy.

When, in 526, Theodoric—deservedly the Great—died, his daughter, Amalasuntha, acted as Regent during the minority of her son Athalaric. Amalasuntha, a learned woman, was unpopular with the Goths, who disliked her endeavours to spread a knowledge of Roman literature, and to introduce Roman civilisation. They were men of the sword. Their easy triumph over the leisurely philosophers and luxurious art-collectors of Rome, had strengthened their natural contempt for learning and culture. They despised the pedantry of Greek and Roman professors, and had little respect for a woman as controller of the fortunes of the State. When, by the death of Athalaric, the male line of descent from Theodoric came to an end, their hostility to Amalasuntha could no longer be restrained. She was murdered; and Vitiges, no scholar, but a rough soldier, was raised up on their shields, according to national custom, and hailed as their king. While Vitiges was being uproariously carried round the Gothic camp in triumph, Belisarius, the Macedonian general sent to Italy by Justinian, had captured Naples, and was marching upon Rome. Vitiges, instead of hastening to take possession of Rome, hurried to Ravenna, where he married Matasuntha, daughter of Amalasuntha, and grand-daughter of Theodoric. He thereby greatly strengthened his position as head of the Gothic nation, but during his absence Belisarius, marching by the Latin Way, entered Rome through the Porta Asinaria, of which the remains may still be seen near the Porta San Giovanni. Belisarius at once proceeded to put the city in a condition

PORTA~
SAN~
PAOLO ~~

of defence. Large supplies of provisions were stored in the public *horrea* or warehouses, the walls were restored or rebuilt, and the small garrison distributed round the defences. His own residence he fixed in the palace on the Pincian Hill, a good position for observing the operations of the enemy, and for quick communication inside the lines. Vitiges was not long in appearing before Rome at the head of a Gothic army of 150,000 men.

Then began the most memorable of all the many sieges which Rome has had to endure.

The walls which Belisarius had to defend were built originally by Aurelian in 252, and repaired by Honorius in 406, on both occasions as a defence against barbarian invasion. The sieges and assaults of Alaric, Genseric and Ricimer had done considerable damage, which had been increased by neglect, not properly or permanently repaired by Theodoric. Belisarius had no time to collect the best materials, but made use of whatever was at hand. Odd bricks, bits of marble or of columns —all were hastily pushed into the cracks, or piled up to make a defensive parapet of some sort. One portion of the circuit at the N.E. corner of the Pincian Hill, now known as the Muro Torto, Belisarius had given orders to repair, when he was informed that it was under the special protection of St. Peter, and that the Goths would not touch it. It was accordingly left in the overhanging condition in which it still remains. The walls have been constantly repaired since the days of Belisarius, the most important alterations being carried out in 1750 by order of Benedict XIV.

The total circuit of the walls, including a section on the right bank of the river, was a little over 12 miles. To defend this great length Belisarius had only 5000 regular soldiers, barbarians or Greeks, veterans who

had fought under him in Persia and Africa; but there were also 30,000 male civilians in Rome who showed zeal in repairing breaches, helped to give the defences a tenanted appearance, and sometimes, when inspired by the example of Belisarius and his gallant band, assisted in the actual fighting.

The Goths prepared for a regular siege. They formed seven entrenched camps round the city, destroying many of the buildings in the Campagna for the purpose. Great discontent was aroused among the commons of Rome when the cutting of the aqueducts by the enemy deprived them of their baths, and stopped the water mills for grinding corn. Their two great privileges, free baths and free corn, were taken from them. Belisarius succeeded in using the current of the river for grinding corn, placing mills in the stream, where they continued to be a feature of the river scene until quite recent times. The Romans had no quarrel with the Goths, and were indignant with Belisarius for having brought upon them the miseries of a siege, to satisfy the vanity of a distant Eastern potentate. Vitiges took advantage of the Roman depression to demand a capitulation. He said: 'The Romans lived in all comfort and freedom under the rule of the good king Theodoric. Now, through your undesired interposition, they are suffering the extremes of misfortune, and their king, the king both of Goths and Italians, is obliged to encamp outside the walls and practise cruel acts of war against the people whom he loves. We call upon you, therefore, to evacuate the city of Rome.' Belisarius, paying no attention to the murmurs of the Romans, replied: 'When we took Rome we laid hands on no alien possession, but only undid that act of violence by which you seized upon a city to which you had no claim. While Belisarius lives he will never quit his hold of this city.'

Vitiges gave orders for a general assault. He prepared wooden towers higher than the walls, from the top of which his men could leap into the town; they moved on wheels and were dragged forward by oxen. Another great machine was the battering-ram with iron head, the long beam wielded by 50 men, in a wooden tower, on wheels. Fascines and sandbags for filling the ditches, with heavy ladders for scaling the walls, were carried by the soldiers. On his side Belisarius was furnished with the artillery of the time. The *balistae* and *onagri* were forms of catapult which threw arrows of great thickness, or enormous stones; and each gate was provided on its outer side with a large beam or *lupus* with holes in it, through which pikes could be made to fall upon an assailant.

Belisarius stationed himself on the tower of the Salarian Gate. As the heavy war engines were slowly approaching, he directed the defenders to aim at the cattle, which were soon killed, and all the preparations of the enemy thus made useless. Though their engines of war could not advance, the Goths themselves rushed to the assault, carrying fascines and scaling ladders, but met with a stern resistance, and finally fell back defeated.

Against the mausoleum of Hadrian the Gothic attack began with more success. The Goths were able to approach close to the great building by taking shelter in a covered colonnade which led from it to the Basilica of St. Peter, and also in the houses and narrow streets of what is now the Borgo. With a sudden rush they got under the walls, where the catapults could not touch them, while the arrows discharged by the Roman archers were not sufficiently solid to pierce the large oblong shields of the enemy. The Goths had firmly placed their ladders, and were swarming up them, when the defenders bethought them of the use which could

be made of the statues as projectiles. There was no time to choose copies of Praxitiles, and spare the originals. All were torn down and hurled upon the enemy. The Barberini Faun at Munich and the Dancing Faun at Florence, found long afterwards in the ditch below, were among the missiles which helped to put an end to the Gothic kingdom in Italy. The barbarians drew out of range of the avalanche of marble to find themselves now exposed to the arrows and stones of *balistae* and *onagri*, and were compelled to abandon the assault.

A long blockade then ensued. The Campagna, flooded with the water which had poured into it from the cut aqueducts, became a hot-bed of malaria and pestilence. There was famine in Rome. The Goths, hearing of reinforcements approaching from Justinian, opened negotiations. Vitiges proposed to give the Romans the island of Sicily in exchange for Rome. Belisarius showed his sense of the magnanimous offer by offering Vitiges, in exchange for Sicily, the larger island of Britain — as little under the control of Justinian as Sicily was in the power of the Goths. In the end a truce for three months was agreed upon, during which Belisarius, without molestation, revictualled and reinforced the town. One final effort was made to enter the city by the Aqua Virgo, which had a mouth opening into the palace on the Pincian Hill, where Belisarius was living. Belisarius had caused all the aqueducts to be walled up, but there would have been little difficulty in breaking down the partitions if the scheme had not been discovered. Then at last, after a siege of more than a year, Vitiges broke up his camps, and marched northwards with an army reduced by war and disease to a mere fraction of its former strength. A stubborn war of two years followed before the Ostrogothic king was forced by the pressure of famine

to capitulate at Ravenna to the ever-victorious Belisarius. The defeated Goths offered, with the concurrence of Vitiges, to make Belisarius Emperor of the West, a proposal which he had the sense to reject. But the jealousy of Justinian was aroused, and the great soldier was recalled to Constantinople. Vitiges also was brought to the Eastern capital, where he died in 542.

The Goths chose Totila for their king. All authorities are unanimous in their praise of the young prince. The new chief infused enthusiasm and energy into the drooping spirits of the barbarians. He succeeded in regaining many of the lost Gothic possessions in Italy, and then in 546 besieged and captured Rome. While his soldiers were engaged in plunder, Totila himself advanced to the Basilica of St. Peter's, there to give thanks for his success. Then the young barbarian collected his stalwart, fair-haired Teutons in the deserted Forum, and delivered a speech not unworthy of the site or the occasion.

'At the beginning of the war,' he said, '200,000 valiant Goths, rich in money, in arms, in horses, and with numbers of prudent veterans to guide their counsels, lost empire, life, liberty to a little band of 7000 Greeks. Now, from more than 20,000 of the same enemies, a scanty remnant of the nation, poor, despised, utterly devoid of experience, had wrested the great prize of the war. Why this difference? Because formerly the Goths, putting justice last in their thoughts, committed against the subject Romans, and against one another, all sorts of unholy deeds, but now they have been striving to act righteously towards all men. In this resolution, even at the risk of wearying them, he besought them to continue. For if they changed, assuredly God's favour towards them would change too, since it is not this race or that nation, as such, on whose side God fights, but He assists all men

everywhere who honour the precepts of eternal righteousness.'

It was in a very different tone that Totila addressed the trembling Senators of Rome. He reminded them that Theodoric had left in their hands all the great offices of the State, in return for which they had brought Greeks to attack their benefactors. 'What harm did the Goths ever do you? What good have you ever received from the Emperor Justinian? Has he not taken away from you almost all the great appointments? Has he not insulted and oppressed you? Harassed and impoverished as you are by the war, has he not compelled you to pay to the Greeks the full taxes which could be levied in a time of profoundest peace?'

Totila's forces were too small for division: he could not leave a garrison in Rome, and at the same time undertake a campaign in Italy for the recovery of the lost Gothic provinces. Yet, if he left Rome unguarded, Belisarius, whose services had again been requisitioned by Justinian, would enter. He determined to entirely destroy the town, to raze it to the ground, to make it a pasturage for cattle. Some destruction had already been done to the walls when he received a letter of expostulation from Belisarius, which caused him to change his mind. He stopped the demolition, withdrew his army, and compelled all the inhabitants to leave Rome with him. Procopius expressly states that Totila 'permitted not a single human being to remain in Rome, but left her absolutely desolate.' There is no more dramatic incident in her history. She was almost as magnificent as ever. Some temples and walls had been damaged, and many statues taken away. But the town was still covered with immense marble buildings. Not a single human eye was left to admire its splendour, not a foot trod

the pavements, no sound came from the deserted streets. The grass began to grow in the Forum Romanum itself.

The desertion of Rome by Totila was a grave strategic blunder. Not having sufficient forces to defend the city, and also to carry on a hostile campaign, he should either have remained in Rome, or, hardening his heart, should have carried out his original intention and destroyed it utterly. Shortly after his departure Belisarius entered. Totila instantly returned, but Belisarius had once more repaired the walls; and Totila, having no chance of success with his small army, where the great host of Vitiges had failed, declined a useless assault and retired to Tibur (Tivoli).

What he could not do the jealousy of Justinian achieved. Belisarius was again recalled, never to return to Italy. He continued to serve his master with zeal, ability and success in other parts of the Empire, and died in 565. The story that his eyes were put out and he was obliged to beg in the streets, first mentioned by an unreliable writer of the twelfth century, is at variance with older authorities, and most improbable.

With Belisarius no longer to oppose him, Totila again advanced against Rome. Neither as a fortress, nor as a city, was Rome intrinsically worth the efforts so constantly made for her capture. But the old feeling that to be master of Rome was to be master of the world still survived. The sentimental value of Rome was brought home to Totila by the answer he received from a Frankish king, whose daughter he had asked in marriage. He was bluntly told that the man who, having once obtained possession of Rome, abandoned and could not regain the town, would never be King of Italy.

The condition of the city may be judged from the fact that the Imperial garrison were proof against famine, owing to the large crops of corn they were able to gather inside the walls. The city was, however, given up by treachery. Totila now determined to re-occupy and restore it. The damaged public buildings were repaired, the Senatorial families encouraged to return, and a new population collected. In the Circus Maximus the Teuton gave a great display of chariot races and other Roman games, at which he himself presided. The marble seats sparsely sprinkled with the forms of Italians and Goths, riders and officials unskilled in their work, a handsome young barbarian presiding—what would the old Romans have thought of the exhibition?

But Totila had now to meet an opponent more formidable even that Belisarius. Justinian sent to Italy his chief adviser, Narses, an aged eunuch. Though not an experienced soldier, Narses was an abler man than Belisarius; his loyalty was never suspected, and he was given ample supplies, both in men and money—advantages which had always been denied to Belisarius. His success was rapid. Marching upon Rome with a large force, he was opposed by Totila with an army inferior both in numbers and equipment. The Goths were utterly defeated, and Totila himself slain.

Seldom has there appeared on the page of history a nobler figure than that of the magnanimous, moderate and just Goth, a worthy successor of Theodoric. His ability and courage were equal to his virtue. Lifted on the shields of his countrymen while still only in his early manhood, at a time when his race was apparently crushed for ever, he succeeded in restoring his shattered kingdom, and maintained his position for eleven years against the ability of Belisarius and the weight of Jus-

tinian. 'The virtues of Totila,' says Gibbon, 'are equally laudable whether they proceeded from true policy, religious principle or the instinct of humanity. He often harangued his troops; and it was his constant theme that national vice and ruin are inseparably connected; that victory is the fruit of moral as well as military virtue; and that the prince, and even the people, are responsible for the crimes they neglect to punish.'

The remnant of the Goths still fought on under a new king, Teias. The last battle took place on the lower slopes of Vesuvius, within sight of Naples. Against overwhelming numbers the Goths fought heroically for two whole days; but Teias, his shield transfixed with twelve javelins, was killed while in the act of changing it for a fresh one; and the shattered fragments of the great Ostrogothic tribe, which had ruled in Italy for sixty years, were glad to be allowed to find their way back over the Alps.

'If we mention the name of Goth in Italy,' says Muratori, 'some of the people shudder, chiefly the half-educated, as if we spoke of inhuman barbarians, destitute of laws and taste. These are the judgments of ignorance. Theodoric and Totila, both kings of the Gothic nation, were certainly not free from faults, but each possessed the love of justice, moderation, wisdom in the choice of his subordinates, abstemiousness, sincerity in his treaties, and other notable virtues to such a degree as to render him a model in the art of good government. It is sufficient to read the letters of Cassiodorus and the history of Procopius, himself an enemy of the Goths. Moreover, these rulers did not in anywise change the magistrates, the laws or the customs of the Romans, and the legends of their bad taste are but childish folly. The Romans longed for a change of masters. They changed them indeed, but

they paid for the fulfilment of their desires by the incalculable losses inseparable from a long and tedious war; and, what is worse, the change involved the utter ruin of Italy in a few years, and plunged the country into an abyss of misery.'

THE RUINED AQUEDUCTS IN THE CAMPAGNA

S. FRANCESCA ROMANA FROM THE PALATINE

CHAPTER V

The Pope

'Tu es Petrus, et super hanc Petram ædificabo Ecclesiam meam, et portae Inferi non prævalebunt adversus eam. Et tibi dabo claves regni cœlorum.'—*Matthew* xvi. 18, 19.

'Sacrosancta Lateranensis ecclesia omnium urbis et orbis Ecclesiarum Mater et Caput.'

THE patronage of Constantine produced great changes in the Christian Church. Torture, death, confiscation of property had only increased the simple, unaffected piety, the stubborn, heroic defiance of the Christian. But when Christianity suddenly became the fashion, when the advice of the Christian priests, barely escaped from the wild beasts of the amphitheatre, was sought in the highest families, and the Christian laity consulted by converts

on every side, the meekness of the Christian changed to pride and ostentation. With power came arrogance and luxury. Jerome, writing from his monastery on the Aventine, denounced the worldliness of the clergy. He described a deacon driving up to a rich man's palace in a fashionable carriage with fiery horses. 'His silken garments breathe of perfumed waters; his hair is curled by the barber with the highest skill; and, with jewelled fingers foppishly raising his dress, he skips into the palace, his dainty feet clad, by the skill of the shoemaker, in shoes of the softest and glossiest morocco leather. Anyone seeing this man would take him rather for a bridegroom than a clergyman.'

The higher positions in the Church had already, for some time, been eagerly sought. In 219, when Calixtus I. was Bishop of Rome, Hippolytus acted the part which, in later times, became so familiar, and may, in the language of anachronism, be termed the first anti-pope. In 355 the Emperor Constantius deposed Bishop Liberius, and set up Felix in his place. There were serious riots, in which many persons were killed; and finally Felix was driven out. On the death of Liberius, in 366, his party assembled in the Basilica Julia and there elected Ursicinus; while the adherents of Felix proclaimed Damasus. The two candidates collected their supporters for martial conflict, in which Damasus finally conquered, after much bloodshed. Ammianus Marcellinus makes the following comment: — 'No wonder that, for so magnificent a prize as the bishopric of Rome, men should contest with the utmost eagerness and obstinacy; to be enriched by the donations of the principal ladies of the city; to ride, splendidly attired, in a stately chariot; to sit at sumptuous meals, surpassing those of princes.' In the middle of the

fourth century the bishopric of Rome was already the most coveted position in the city. When Damasus tried to convert Prætextatus, the city prefect, he replied that he would turn Christian at once if by so doing he were to obtain the office of Bishop of Rome.

The altered, un-Christian manners of the priests produced strong protests from earnest men, who turned in disgust to monastic life. Chastity, seclusion, renunciation of the world, were hailed as the only pure, essential virtues of the Christian faith. Women as well as men were drawn towards this movement. A rich lady, Marcella, with her sister Paula, established on the Aventine Hill a home for other women of her own class and position, where they devoted themselves to prayer and reading pious works. Jerome came to live with them, and assisted in the formation of a society whose aim was penance, solitude and charity. Such examples of piety and self-sacrifice gained for the monks an odour of peculiar sanctity, and lessened the influence of the worldly priests. Then began the rivalry between monk and priest which was destined to distract the Church throughout the whole of her history. In 385 Siricius, Bishop of Rome, acknowledged the growing influence of the monks by his decree against the marriage of the clergy. He failed in the effort to enforce celibacy; but an important result of his action was the separation of clergy and laity. The priests were regarded as standing upon a high and exclusive plane of morality, and thus attained a position of dignity and superiority which greatly conduced to the power of the Church.

While the Church was being strengthened in Rome, the Roman Bishop was gradually but surely marching to the primacy of the whole Christian world. His advantages were many. He claimed direct Apostolic

succession through St. Peter—a claim which his possible rivals at Jerusalem, Cæsarea, Antioch, Alexandria, Constantinople, were unable to oppose. That fact alone might have sufficed to ensure the supremacy of Rome. But the characteristic Roman spirit of order and unity, of subordination of the individual to the State, would, even without the visit of St. Peter to Romé, have enabled the Roman Bishop to triumph. While the dialectical, ingenious Eastern mind was tearing the Church to pieces with sophistry, symbolical interpretations and heretical theories, the practical Romans were strictly orthodox, and tolerated no fantastic propositions, no deviations from the original simple faith. The same qualities that enabled Rome to conquer the political world, the same scheme of government that brought all Europe under her temporal dominion, were now directed to spiritual matters —the dominant question of the time—and achieved there an equal triumph. The Bishop of Rome became the Pope of Christendom, partly from the prestige of Rome, partly from the visit of St. Peter, partly from the absence of the emperor, partly from the fall of the Western Empire, partly from the destruction of the Arian Ostrogothic kingdom by Justinian, but more than all because Rome had long been the home of unflinching discipline and practical common sense. These qualities were the characteristic merit of the Rome of Scipio, Cæsar and Trajan. It was by them that Gregory VII. and Innocent III. afterwards ruled Europe. They remain to this day the sheet-anchor of the Roman Church. The doctrine of papal infallibility, for instance, has an unmistakable Roman origin.

In the middle of the fourth century appeared three of the four fathers of the Church—Jerome, the upholder of her monastic system; Ambrose, of her sacerdotal

authority; Augustine, of her theology. After them came the pattern monk Benedict, and the monk, pope, and fourth of the fathers of the Church, Gregory the Great.

Benedict was born about 480, and died in 543, the most probable date for the birth of his biographer, Gregory. When still quite a lad Benedict left Rome, shocked at its wickedness, and made his way to Subiaco, where he lived in a cave for three years. He had a friend, Romanus by name, in a neighbouring monastery. Romanus secreted part of each monastic meal, and let it down to the cave in a basket at the end of a rope. After a time Romanus died, and the young recluse would have perished of hunger but for a miraculous apparition, which warned a priest living far away that a holy man was dying of hunger in a cave at Subiaco. Directed by an invisible influence, the priest easily found the exact spot, and thus saved the life of the saint, who had so completely subdued the sensations of the body that he would have died without discovering that he was in need of food. Many other miracles are related of Benedict. He was tempted by the devil, as St. Anthony had been, in the form of physical desire. After a long struggle, at last he conquered by jumping naked into a dense mass of nettles and thorns, by which the rebellious body was bruised, stung, and cut all over. When, seven hundred years later, the great reformer of the monastic system, St. Francis the Friar, visited the spot, the thorns were immediately changed into the most beautiful bushes covered with roses. Guided by angels and accompanied by ravens, Benedict wandered to the mountain of Castrum Casinum in Campania, where he found paganism and a temple of Apollo still existing. He destroyed the heathen altar, and then, in spite of the persistent opposition of the devil, who tried to inter-

fere with the work by squatting upon the stones, he built upon its site the world-famed monastery of Monte Cassino, the head of the monastic system in the Middle Ages. His rule was the basis for all subsequent monastic discipline.

The Benedictine system enjoined three virtues as essential—solitude, humility and obedience; and three occupations—the worship of God, reading and manual labour. The work in the fields was not for the tilling of the soil to the benefit of mankind, but for suppressing by fatigue the natural inclinations of the body. Not only was chastity absolutely vital, but all communication between the sexes was sinful, and strictly forbidden. The main principle was the abandonment of the fellow-man and the concentration of all thought upon self. Solitude produces upon the human organism a condition of exaggerated self-consciousness and nervousness. Human contact is a necessary tonic to the mind, to prevent the growth of wandering, morbid fancies. The solitary man, unconsciously yearning for the stimulating breath of another's life, begins to clothe the inanimate sights and sounds about him with human characters. Solitude then ceases to be solitary, but is peopled with apparitions of a supernatural character. Visions and miracles were of daily occurrence among the monks, and were readily accepted at a time when all the world was uneducated and barbarous. The influence of monasticism upon human belief can hardly be overrated. If faith was the keynote of the Middle Ages, its chief source was the silent seclusion of the monk's cell.

The example of Benedict spread with wonderful rapidity over the whole of Europe. The fall of Rome, the calamitous wars which devastated Italy, the destruction of civilisation by barbarians, all combined to produce a feeling of terror in mankind. It

CLOISTERS
OF · THE ·
LATERAN

was confidently believed that, with the overthrow of all order and culture, the world was coming to an end. In this state of anxiety and gloom many of the more earnest spirits took refuge in self-mortification and seclusion. Monasteries rose like mushrooms wherever the Christian religion penetrated; and the older foundations accepted the Benedictine rule.

Gregory was the first monk to be raised to the Papal throne. He was born about 540, of a noble Roman family, in the palace of his father Gordianus on the Cælian Hill. In 573 the future Pope was filling the honourable and important post of prefect of the city, driving about the streets in a four-horsed chariot, dressed in a purple robe of silk embellished with fine jewels. Suddenly Rome heard that the wealthy prefect had given all his property to the poor, with the exception of the palace on the Cælian, which he had turned into a monastery; and that he had abandoned the splendour of his civic position for the seclusion, harsh food, and rough sackcloth, of a monk.

The project of converting England first occurred to him in consequence of an incident which is thus related by the Venerable Bede (translation by T. Stapleton, dedicated to Queen Elizabeth) :—

'On a certaine day when manie merchants came to Rome, and brought into the market place dyvers wares to be sold, and manie also came thither to buy, emongest them Gregory him selfe came to cheapen, and vew the market. Where when emongest other things he had espyed young men set to be sold being of white skinne and comly countenance, with decent order, and colour of their heare, beholding them awhile, he demanded at last, out of what region or land they were brought? And it was answered that they came out of the yle of Britannie, where the inhabitants were all of that beautie. Then asked he whether the people

of that ylande were Christian men, or yet lyved in the paynims errors? And answer was made, that they were al paynims. Then this good man heavielie sighing from the botome of his harte, Alas, quoth he, it is a pittiful case, that the author of darkness should possesse such bryght and beautifull people, and that men of so fayre a face, should inwardly beare so fowle a soule.

'Then enquired he farder an other thing, what was the name of that nation or people? And when answer was geven, that they were called Angli, Angles, or English. Truely not without cause, quoth he, be they called Angles, for they have an Angel's face (*Angelicam*). And it is but meete that such men were partakers, and inheretors with the Angels in heaven. But what is, quoth he, the name of the province, whence they came? The merchants answered, that the people of that province were called Deyres (of Yorkshire). Marry, quoth he, they may justly be named Deyres, For they shal be taken *From the* ire of God (*De ira*), and called to the mercie of Jesus Christ. But what is, quoth he, the kinge's name of that province? When it was answered that his name was Alle, S. Gregory, alluding to the name, sayd: Alleluja must be sounge in that Prince's Dominions to the prayse of Almighty God his creator.'

Gregory determined to convert the Angli, and had started on the mission single-handed, when he was recalled by Pope Benedict I. On his accession to the Papacy he entrusted the deferred enterprise to Augustine, who met with complete success.

Gregory's pontificate is memorable for other missionary triumphs over Arianism in Spain, in Gaul, and among the Lombard invaders who were overrunning Italy. Gregory brought the greater part of Western Europe under the sway of the orthodox religion of Rome, and

was thus practically the founder of the Papal dominion. He also made radical changes in the Church ritual, collecting a number of Ambrosian (mis-called Gregorian) chants, and adding in many other ways to the dignity and attraction of the Church celebrations.

He lived in a dark and calamitous age. The light of civilisation had gone out with the fall of the Roman Imperium, and the Ostrogoths, who tried to re-light it, had been driven away to make room for the tax-collector from Constantinople. Rome was suffering from an inundation of the Tiber, with its consequences, famine and plague. One of Gregory's first acts was to organise a great penitential procession of the entire population of the city. Clergy, monks, nuns, children, women, and men, were mobilised in different quarters of the city, whence they concentrated at the Basilica of Sta. Maria Maggiore. Singing a mournful chant, the procession, headed by Gregory, marched through the ruined town, men dropping dead as they walked, till it reached the splendid Ælian bridge of Hadrian, leading to the magnificent tomb. As Gregory was looking up at the mausoleum, he saw above it the figure of the Archangel Michael sheathing his sword, while celestial voices chanted the antiphony, 'Regina cœli, laetare, quia quem meruisti portare resurrexit, sicut dixit, Alleluja.' Gregory responded with 'Ora pro nobis Deum, Alleluja.' Thereupon the plague lessened and soon came to an end. Hence the name St. Angelo, applied to the mausoleum. The present figure of the Archangel on the summit, the sixth, was placed there in 1740. A picture of the Madonna is said to have been carried at the head of the procession. That honour is claimed on behalf of two Madonnas, one in the church of Ara Cœli, the other in Sta. Maria Maggiore.

Gregory's first sermon in St. Peter's shows the depression of the time. 'Our Lord forewarns us,' he

said, 'that nation shall prevail against nation, and kingdom against kingdom, and that earthquakes, famine and pestilence, horrors and signs from heaven are in store for us. We have already been visited by some of these disasters, and of others remain in dread. For that nation rises against nation and subdues the land by fear, our own experience, more forcibly than even Gospel history, might have taught us. We have heard from other quarters that countless cities are destroyed by earthquakes, while we ourselves suffer incessantly from pestilence. True, we do not yet perceive signs in the sun, moon or stars, but changes in the atmosphere lead us to suppose that such signs are near at hand. Fiery swords, reddened with the blood of mankind, which soon after flowed in streams, were seen in the heavens before Italy became a prey to the Lombards. Every day the earth is visited by fresh calamities. You see how few remain of the ancient population; each day sees us chastened by fresh afflictions, and unforeseen blows strike us to the ground. The world grows old and hoary, and through a sea of troubles hastens to approaching death.'

And again: 'What is there in the world to gladden us? All around is mourning; all around is sighing. Cities are destroyed; fortresses levelled to the ground; farms laid waste; the earth reduced to a desert. No husbandman is left in the fields, scarcely a dweller remains in the towns, and still the small remnant of mankind is daily stricken. We see some led into captivity, some maimed, others put to death. We are forced to recognise the position to which Rome, once the mistress of the world, is reduced. Where are those who once delighted in the glory of Rome? In them is fulfilled the saying of the prophet against Nineveh that was destroyed: "Where is the dwelling of the lion and the feeding-place of the lion's whelps?" Were

not your generals and princes the lions, who, blood-thirsty and greedy of gain, overran the whole earth in search of plunder? Behold, therefore! now is the city deserted; now is she destroyed and weighed down with groaning. None any longer hasten to her to seek their fortune in this world. No mighty men: no oppressor. Of such as acquired booty by violence, not one remains behind. Wherefore we ask, "Where is the dwelling of the lion and the food of the young lion?" It has befallen Rome even as the prophet said of Judea: "Her baldness spreads like that of the eagle." The baldness of man is confined to the head, but that of the eagle extends over the whole body, since when the eagle grows old his plumes and feathers fall from him. And like the eagle bereft of its plumage, is the baldness of the city deprived of its inhabitants.'

There was little exaggeration in this picture. The dreaded Lombards, whose leader, Alboin, habitually used the skull of a dead enemy for his drinking-cup, were laying waste the whole of Italy. The Imperial representative at Ravenna was powerless to arrest their depredations. Gregory alone had any influence upon them. When they appeared before Rome—no longer a great prize—he succeeded in buying them off; and even converted them from Arianism to the orthodox belief.

Gregory was the first Pope who was in ecclesiastical matters undisputed head of Western Europe, in temporal matters a rival of the Eastern emperor, and in municipal matters the practical lord of Rome.

Though the greatest of all Popes, and one of the chief characters in all history, Gregory had the faults of his age and position. The Emperor Maurice had called him *fatuus*, a fool, and had opposed the pretensions of the Western Church. A revolution placed

Phocas, an infamous monster, on the Imperial throne at Constantinople. Phocas caused the five children of Maurice to be murdered, one after the other, before the eyes of their parent, who then shared their fate. Gregory received the news with exultation, and wrote to Phocas: 'I delight to think, with a grateful heart, what praise is due to Almighty God for removing the yoke of our sadness, and bringing us to days of liberty under the pious rule of your Imperial kindness.' The action of Gregory on this occasion, so repugnant to ordinary human feelings, so opposed to the religion of Christ, is an example of the crushing effect upon the conscience which concern for the welfare of the Church may produce. The priest overcame the man. The wicked tyrant Phocas was praised for a diabolical murder, because by it an inconvenient opponent was removed. Unfortunately, in the subsequent history of the Church, the example of Gregory was frequently followed. May we not even say that the decadence of the influence of the Roman Church has been largely due to the readiness of the clergy to make use of men and methods shocking to the conscience of mankind, in the hope that the power of the Church might thereby be strengthened?

The Church and Convent of S. Gregorio on the Cælian Hill are of peculiar interest to Englishmen, for here it was that Gregory and Augustine planned the conversion of England. Gregory is usually represented in pictures with the Holy Ghost in the form of a dove, hovering over his head, or sitting on his shoulder.

The great Pontiff died in 604. Four years later a fine Corinthian pillar, taken from some ancient building, was erected in the Forum to commemorate the worst of all the emperors, Phocas, the favourite of Gregory, the greatest of all the Popes. The degraded condition

ARCH OF SEVERUS, COLUMN OF PHOCAS AND S. MARTINA

of Rome is revealed by the event. The ability to construct true columns no longer remained. The difference between the age of the Antonines and of Gregory is fittingly represented by the columns of Trajan and Marcus Aurelius, and that of Phocas.

In the middle of the seventh century the Eastern emperor, Constans II., made his power unpleasantly felt at Rome. He instructed the Exarch to demand from Pope Martin I. an assent to the Imperial edict relating to the dual nature of Christ, the human and the divine. Martin refused. He was seized by Imperial soldiers in the Lateran Basilica, carried off a prisoner to Constantinople, and sent into exile in the Crimea, where he died. Constans then himself visited Rome—the first emperor to do so since the fall of the Western Empire. He was met by the over-awed, submissive Pope Vitalian and his clergy, and the chief civic officials, at the sixth milestone outside Rome on the Appian Way. Thence he was conducted in solemn procession to the city, which he entered by the Porta S. Sebastiano, taking up his residence in the palace on the Palatine. He then visited Sta. Maria Maggiore; on Sunday, accompanied by his Byzantine followers, went in solemn state to St. Peter's, where he received Communion at the hands of the Pope; and on the following Sunday, after visiting the Lateran Church, he gave a State banquet in the Lateran Palace. Having honoured Rome, the Church and the Empire by these ceremonial acts, Constans now turned his eyes upon the remains of classic buildings in the city, and caused search to be made for portable plunder. The roof of the Pantheon was covered with costly tiles of gilded bronze. Although the building had been consecrated and was used as a church, he stripped off a large part of the roof and had it put on board his ships. Many bronze statues still remained standing in

public places. All these were carried away except the equestrian statue of Marcus Aurelius, which was believed to represent Constantine. It stood in the Lateran field, on the site of the house of Verus, grandfather of the Stoic emperor, to whom, as a boy, the observant Hadrian had given the nickname of Verissimus.

In the next century the Iconoclast dispute broke out. The Eastern Emperor Leo in 726 issued an edict ordering the destruction of all images and pictures in all churches. It met with the most determined opposition, especially from women. The Empress Helena, mother of Constantine, had been the first to introduce image worship; and the Iconoclasts in the East were finally suppressed by two women—the Empress Irene (who put out the eyes of her own son on account of his hostility to image-worship)—and the Empress Theodora, who finally succeeded in suppressing the Iconoclasts of the East, thus firmly establishing the worship of images as an essential part of Church devotion.

In the West the Iconoclast quarrel was made an excuse for throwing off all allegiance to the Eastern emperor. The Exarch who attempted to carry out the Imperial edict was killed in a riot; and Pope Gregory II. stopped the payment of tribute from Italy to the emperor. In 730 a Council at Rome, presided over by the Pope, pronounced the anathema against the destroyers of images. The Pope defied the emperor. He was not, however, in a position to defend Italy from the Lombards, who were masters of nearly the whole country. Led by their king, Astolf, the Lombards appeared before Rome, where they ransacked the catacombs for the bones of saints, and carried them off. The Pope Stephen took the momentous step of appealing for protection to the Frank

King Pepin, who responded to the call, defeated Astolf, and gave a large part of the Lombard kingdom to the Pope. Thus was laid the foundation of the temporal power of the Papacy. In return for his great services Pepin was made Patrician of Rome. The same story was repeated a few years later when the Frank Pepin had been succeeded by Charlemagne, the Lombard Astolf by Desiderius, and the Pope Stephen by Adrian. Desiderius began a march upon Rome, Adrian called upon Charlemagne for succour, the Frank promised his help, and the Lombard retreated. Then Charlemagne marched upon Rome. His entry into the town in 774 took the form of a triumphal procession. He was met at the foot of Monte Mario, on his way to St. Peter's, by an immense crowd, who hailed him as *Defensor Ecclesiae*. The crosses and banners of the Roman basilicas were sent to meet him, a significant fact, as such an honour had hitherto been accorded only to the Imperial Exarch. Arrived at St. Peter's, Charlemagne climbed the steps on his knees, kissing each step as he advanced, until he reached the Pope at the top. Then Pontiff and Patrician entered the church together, where Charles and his Franks prostrated themselves before the grave of the Apostle. Mass was heard on subsequent days at the Basilicas of St. John the Lateran, Sta. Maria Maggiore, and St. Paul. Charlemagne now styled himself '*Patricius Romanorum et Defensor Ecclesiæ*.' While at Rome he wore the long tunic and chlamys, and the Roman shoes, of the Patricius.

The ultimate coronation of Charles as Roman emperor might not have occurred but for the turbulence of the Roman nobles, and the inability of the Pope to make his authority respected in the city. Leo III., while heading a religious procession in Rome, was attacked by his aristocratic enemies in the city, and

barely escaped with his life. Charlemagne, on hearing of the tumult, determined to visit Rome, and there, as Patricius, or over-lord of Rome, deliver judgment between the Pope and his enemies. Charles summoned the three orders of Rome—clergy, nobility and people—to send representatives to meet him in Parliament. As Patricius, he presided over their deliberations, and in the end sentenced the factious nobles to banishment.

Having assured himself of the consent of the Romans, and also of his Franks, he determined to assume the Imperial title. On Christmas Day 800, wearing the robes of the Patricius, he prostrated himself, in the presence of Pope, clergy, and a large assemblage of Roman citizens, before the high altar of St. Peter's; then, as he rose from his knees, the Pope placed upon the Frank's head a crown, while the church resounded with acclamations. The words used by the officials who led the cheers are said to have been the same which greeted the election of a Cæsar, viz.: 'Carolo piissimo Augusto, a Deo coronato, magno, pacifico Imperatori, Vita et Victoria'—'To Charles the most pious Augustus, crowned by God, the great, peace-giving Emperor, Life and Victory.'

Having already received the silver crown of Germany at Aix-la-Chapelle, and the iron crown of Lombardy at Milan, Charlemagne now accepted the golden crown of Rome at the hands of the Pope; who, immediately the ceremonial act had been performed, prostrated himself before the emperor in the character of a subject. The real donors of the honour were the three Roman orders—*clerus*, *ordo*, *populus*—the clergy, nobility and people of Rome. The Franks nominated the candidate; the Romans elected him; the Pope crowned him. The Franks regarded the election as a triumph for their nation; the Romans thought it marked a renewed assertion of the supremacy

of Rome, and looked upon themselves as the only source of the Imperial dignity ; the Pope, for whom the sword of the Frank was a necessary protection from Lombard and Roman, justly felt that he also had gained a great step in being recognised as the only official who had the power of actually conferring, and therefore withholding, the crown. Not one of the participants in the ceremony had any notion of the immense power which was destined to flow from it to the Papacy.

Voltaire characteristically asserted that the Holy Roman Empire was so called because it was neither holy, nor Roman, nor an empire. But of course it was all three—Holy, as the official representation of the Christian religion ; Roman, as emanating from Rome, its only possible birthplace ; and an Empire, as having for its chief the most powerful monarch of the time. Its three heads were the Pope, Rome, and the Emperor.

'The appellation of *great*,' says Gibbon, 'has been often bestowed and sometimes deserved, but *Charlemagne* is the only prince in whose favour the title has been indissolubly blended with the name.'

Charlemagne put an end to the anarchy and bloodshed of four hundred years of barbarian migrations ; he united the greater part of Western Europe under the political domination of one central authority ; he freed the Western Church from Byzantine influence ; he raised the city of Rome and the Roman Pontiff to a position of unquestioned ecclesiastical supremacy in the West ; and, by confirming the donation of Pepin, he started the Pope upon a career of territorial aggrandisement.

Rome became once more a great city. While Aachen was the political capital of the Empire, Rome, as its spiritual head, was marked out, in the words of

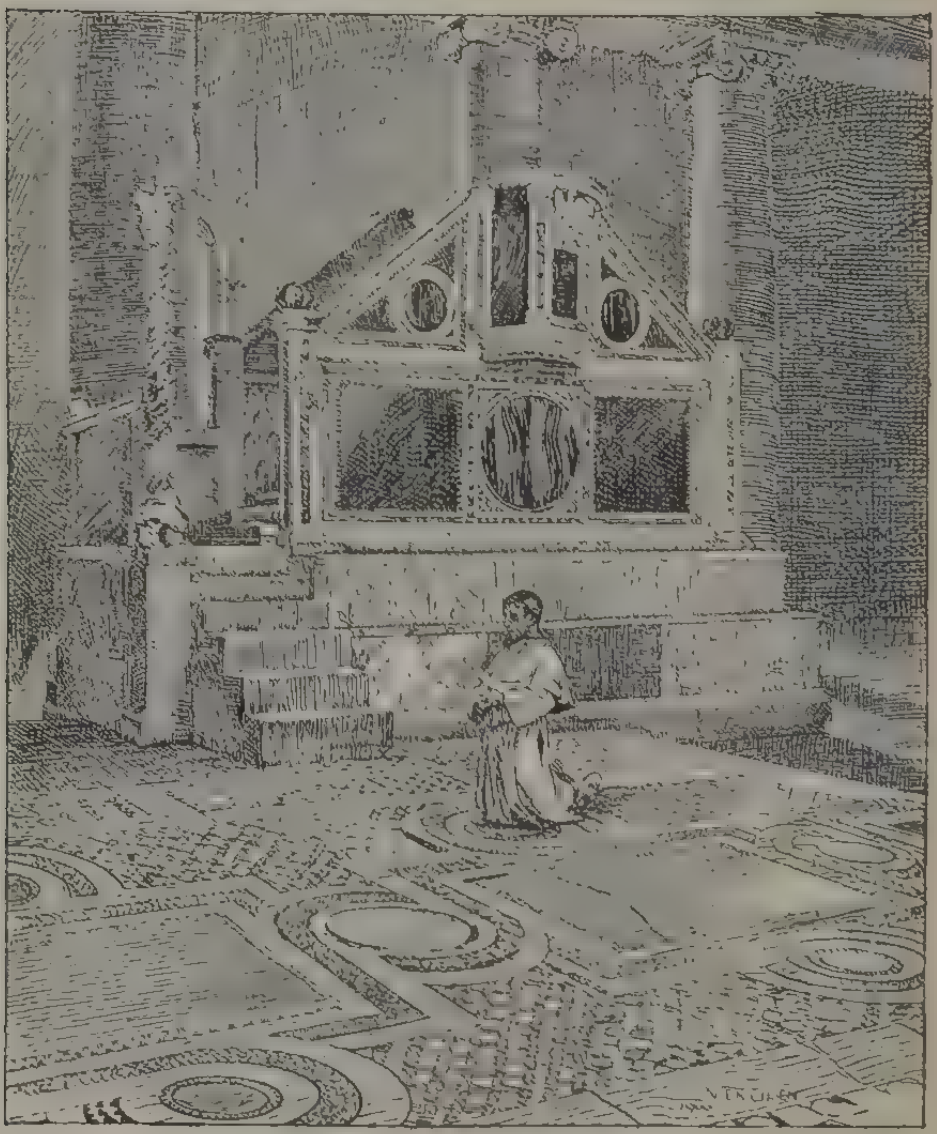
Gregorovius, as 'a sacred metropolis, a temple of eternal peace in the midst of struggling humanity, a universal asylum of culture, of law and of reconciliation.' It was in this light that Rome was regarded by all the nations of Western Europe, from Christmas Day 800. Already there was flowing towards the Holy City that stream of pilgrims which has gone on increasing to the present day. In the Middle Ages many of them were criminals who had been saved from the penalties prescribed by the civil law, through the intervention of the ecclesiastical authority. The bishop undertook that the culprit would expiate his crime by walking to Rome, going through a cleansing course of devotion in the Holy City, and offering with his prayers such other payment as was within his means. Thus a soul was saved; the expense and danger of the long journey were a sufficient punishment; the discipline of the Church was strengthened and her finances improved. Such was the theory. The practice was totally different. The episcopal passport entitled its owners to alms and shelter on the journey, a privilege which was grossly abused by the class of miscreants to whom it was extended. All the roads to Rome—all roads—were infested by robbers and murderers, ostensibly travelling to the sacred city for the cure of their souls, while, in fact, their spiritual ill-health was merely an excuse for a life of vagabondage and adventure.

Anglo-Saxons, only recently converted by Gregory the Great, were among the earliest and most devout of pilgrims. In 689 the Saxon king, Ceadwald, arrived in Rome, where he died. He was followed by Conrad of Mercia, and Offa, who cut off and consecrated their long hair at the tomb of St. Peter. Ina, King of Wessex, came to Rome about the year 717, and endowed there the Schola Anglorum, a hostel for the shelter, and school for the education, of his country-

men. He made every house in Wessex pay a penny a year towards this schola, which was the largest and best known in Rome. In 794 came Offa, King of Mercia, to atone for the murder of Ethelbert by penance and money payments for the Saxon school. The whole of the district lying between the Castle of St. Angelo and St. Peter's was under the control of the Anglo-Saxon colony, and obtained the name of Burgus Saxonum, whence the word Borgo. In 847 occurred the great fire in the Borgo, when the portico of St. Peter's, and the Saxon buildings, were destroyed. Pope Leo IV. succeeded in stopping the further spread of the flames by conjuring them with the sign of the Cross, from the balcony of the basilica. Raphael has depicted the scene in the fresco of the Sala dell Incendio in the Vatican, but the Pope he has portrayed is another Leo—his employer, Leo X. Ethelwolf, the Anglo-Saxon king, also appears, with the inscription, 'Astulphus Rex sub Leone IV. Pont. Britanniam Beato Petro vectigalem fecit' ('Astulphus, King, under Pope Leo IV., made Britain tributary to St. Peter'). A few years after this disastrous conflagration, in 854, Ethelwolf came to Rome with his son Alfred, then six years of age. He was crowned by Leo IV., and the young Alfred obtained the Papal blessing. Ethelwolf restored the Anglo-Saxon hostel which had been burnt down.

The Ospedale di Santo Spirito and the church of S. Spirito in Sassia (Saxony), in the Borgo, now standing near or on the site of the original hostel, remain as mementoes of Anglo-Saxon piety. But Ethelwolf did much more. He endowed the Holy See with a yearly grant of 300 *mancuses* (half-crowns), two-thirds for the lamps at St. Peter's and St. Paul's, and one-third for the Pope himself. This yearly payment, Peter's Pence, though originally a voluntary gift, came afterwards to be regarded as a regular tribute due from a

subject to his sovereign, and was so paid by several of the Plantagenet kings. In the House of the Vestals,



AMBO IN S. LORENZO FUORI

close to the Forum, a large hoard of these silver pence was found in 1883, coins of Alfred, Edward I., Athelstan and other English kings.

Another famous pilgrim from our island was Canute, who witnessed the crowning of the Emperor Conrad II. at Rome by John XIX. in 1027. Macbeth, King of Scotland, made the journey in 1050, revealing the state of his conscience by his sudden piety and lavish alms.

Every pilgrim who returned to his home in safety brought back some sacred object. Instead of the modern 'souvenir,' the pilgrim of the Middle Ages obtained by similar means—robbery or purchase—a piece of a human tooth or bone, a bit of decayed wood or a scrap of rusty iron. Every object which could be in any way connected with a Christian martyr or a holy person was to be found in Rome. Almost the only commerce of the city consisted in the sale of 'relics.' The more pretentious objects, such as the actual head of an apostle or body of a saint, were jealously guarded by the Pope, and not parted with except for very substantial returns in money or service. All the bodies in the catacombs were assumed to be the remains of martyrs. If a church or convent in distant lands had been so fortunate as to obtain the Papal sanction for the removal of a body, or of part of one, the bones were carried out of the city with great ceremony, escorted for some distance beyond the gates by a long procession of monks, clergy and people, carrying lighted candles and singing solemn chants.

It was in the time of Paschal I. (817-824) that the body of St. Cecilia was found in the catacombs of Calixtus, the place of its rest having been revealed to the Pope in a vision by the holy martyr herself. Paschal rebuilt the church of St. Cecilia in 821 (now much modernised), and moved the body of the saint hither. In the sixteenth century the tomb was opened and the body found lying on its side, in the curious

position which has been exactly reproduced by Maderno in his statue now in the church.

In 846 the most precious of all Roman relics underwent a great danger. A Saracen fleet landed its passengers at New Ostia, whence they marched upon defenceless Rome. They sacked the basilicas of St. Peter and St. Paul, and carried away all the valuable ornaments, even those of the high altars. But it is believed that the tombs of the Apostles escaped injury. In 849 the Saracens were defeated in a naval battle off Ostia. The event is depicted on the walls of the Sala dell Incendio in the Vatican, by a fresco of Giovanni da Udine, from the designs of Raphael.

The Saracen invasion had drawn attention to the defenceless condition of the Vatican quarter. Leo IV. built walls around it, whence it became known as the Civitas Leonina. When, in 852, the fortifications were completed, Leo dedicated them with great ceremony. The clergy, headed by seven cardinals, walked barefoot, with ashes on their heads, slowly round the walls, sprinkling them with holy water and singing solemn chants. These walls were afterwards destroyed to make way for other constructions, but the first fortification of the ecclesiastical city was an important event, occurring as it did very early in the history of the territorial Papacy. The Vatican walls on many occasions saved the mediæval Papacy from its two great enemies—the emperor, and the city of Rome.

The condition of the Roman mind at this time may be judged from the story of Pope Formosus. His election in 891 was violently opposed by a strong faction, from whom he had to take refuge in the Castle of St. Angelo. Arnulf, the Carlovingian, attacked and captured Rome, released the Pope, and was crowned emperor by the grateful Pontiff. But Arnulf did not venture to remain in Rome. Formosus died

soon after the departure of his protector, and his opponents succeeded in electing their representative to the vacant chair as Stephen VII.

Thereupon the body of Formosus was disinterred, dressed in the pontifical robes, and placed in a semi-erect attitude on a throne in the Papal council chamber. Cardinals, bishops and the other chief ecclesiastical dignitaries were summoned to attend a solemn trial of the corpse. There were counsel on both sides who conducted the case with all the usual solemnities. The Papal advocate put a whole series of questions to the ghastly mummy before him. 'Why hast thou,' he thundered, 'who wert only Bishop of Porto, in thy ambition usurped the apostolic seat?' All eyes were turned upon the grinning skull. A long pause ensued. Time was given. But no answer came. This failure to reply was held as a proof of guilt, and, in default of all defence, judgment was legally delivered against the prisoner. The Papal vestments were taken from the body, three bony fingers of the right hand were cut off, and the corpse thrown into the Tiber. No subsequent Pontiff has taken the name of Formosus, though Paul II. (1464) wished to do so in order to emphasise the dignity and splendour of his appearance; but he was dissuaded by superstitious fears.

Rome and the Papacy now fell under the sway of two dissolute women—Theodora and her daughter Marozia. Theodora, a Roman lady of good family, and loose morals, was the wife of Theophylactus, the senator. She assumed the title of Senatrix. In 898 the son of Theodora became Pope at the age of eighteen. In 904 one of Marozia's lovers was Pope, as Sergius III. In 915 it was the turn of Theodora's paramour, John X. He fell under the displeasure of Marozia, who had him executed, Theodora probably being then dead. Then, in 931, Marozia raised to the

Papal throne her son by Sergius III., who became Pope as John XI.

These Popes of the name of John, the creations of women of bad character, have been, no doubt, the origin of the legend of the female Pope Joan. The story, as told by Martin Polonus, in the thirteenth century, is that a woman, calling herself John Anglus, adopted male clothing in order to be admitted into a monastery, where she could enjoy the society of her lover, a Benedictine monk. She then went with him to Athens, and there learned Greek. On the death of her lover she did not abandon her disguise, but came to Rome and was appointed Professor of Greek. From this post she was, on account of her learning, raised to the Papacy. Her secret was at last discovered by her giving birth to a child, while being carried in procession to the Lateran. An angel had appeared to her in the night and offered her the alternatives of eternal torture in the flames of hell, or this public disgrace, and she had chosen the latter.

The strangest part of this story is that it was universally credited till the sixteenth century, and found learned support even as late as the eighteenth. The undoubting acceptance of such fables in the Middle Ages makes us hesitate to credit the existence of any historical basis in any of the mediæval legends.

Marozia had been married to one Alberic, an adventurer of uncertain origin. On his death or disappearance (the chronicles of the period are scanty and obscure), she bettered her position by marrying Guido, Margrave of Tuscany. But her ambition was rising. Guido died suddenly and conveniently, just when Marozia had decided to make herself Queen of Italy by marrying his half-brother Hugo. The wedding ceremony was performed, in semi-privacy, in the Castle of St. Angelo, by the bride's son, John XI.

Marozia had now risen from prostitute to Senatrix, Patricia, and Queen. One honour had not been reached. She determined to be Empress, through the coronation of her husband by her son. The scheme would have been carried out but for an unfortunate *contretemps* in the castle. Marozia had a son Alberic, named after his father, whose prospects had been gravely affected by his mother's third marriage. One day young Alberic was told by his mother to hold a dish of water while the king washed his hands. Alberic spilled some of the water over his step-father, received a box on the ears for his clumsiness, and thereupon rushed furiously out of the castle and called the Romans to arms.

Marozia had so little confidence in her husband that she had refused to permit him to bring his troops into the castle. Consequently no defence was possible, and the candidate for the Imperial sceptre was obliged to let himself down at night by means of a rope, and thus ingloriously make his escape to Lombardy. Alberic was soon in possession of the castle. He imprisoned his mother in its dungeon, and kept his brother the Pope in confinement within the Lateran. Neither of the prisoners ever regained their freedom.

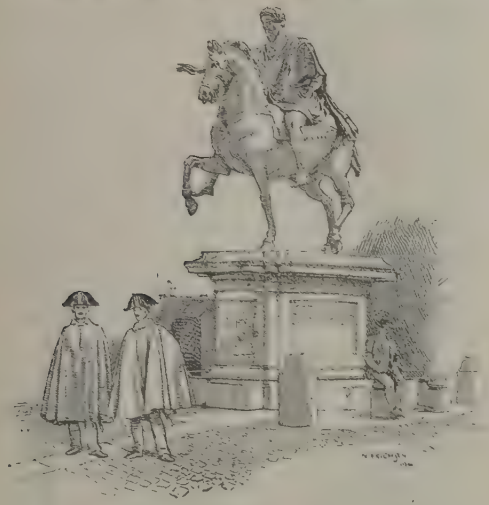
The revolution of 932 was the most successful of the 150 similar outbreaks which historians have recorded in the history of mediæval Rome. The fall of Marozia saved Rome from the tyrant and the nobility; the flight of Hugo rid her of the claims of the Empire; and the temporal power of the Church was safely immured in the Lateran, where the Pope was kept alive to carry out strictly ecclesiastical functions. Alberic was given the title of *Princeps atque omnium Romanorum Senator*. For twenty-two years he governed Rome with justice and moderation. On his death in 954 he was succeeded, as Princeps and Senator, by his son Octavian, who in the following year, on the death of Agapitus

II., became Pope as John XII. The combination in one man of the temporal and spiritual headships of Rome was the origin of the custom which makes it incumbent upon a newly-elected Pope to change his name. The son of Alberic was Princeps as Octavian, and Pope as John XII. But the Princeps proved incapable of protecting the Pope from his enemies, Berengar, King of Italy, and his son Adalbert. As Pope he was obliged to ask the German king, Otto I., for assistance, and in return to crown him emperor. From that time the German kings claimed the Imperial crown as their right.

But the compact between Pope and German emperor was hostile to Roman independence. The Romans never became reconciled to the temporal power of the Pope. The Pope was constantly being driven out of the city, only to be brought back by the sword of the emperor. Scarcely had Otto I. left Rome when Peter, the City Prefect, seized the Pope and thrust him into St. Angelo. Otto was obliged to revisit the city to rescue the Pope and restore the Papal authority. The rebellious Prefect was hanged by his hair from the equestrian statue of Marcus Aurelius; then he was placed upon an ass with his face towards the tail, which he had to grasp in his hand, and marched through Rome in that ignominious posture; he was flogged, and finally sent in exile beyond the Alps.

But the Romans were not to be denied. In 985, when the German king, Otto III., was young, and not yet crowned emperor, they once more threw off Papal and Imperial control, and placed John Crescentius at the head of their Republic, in the office of Patricius. Crescentius restored the constitution of Alberic, but he had neither the ability nor the favourable conditions of his predecessor, and was never more than the leader

of the dominant faction. In 996, on the death of John XV., Otto III. nominated a cleric of his own race, a German, to the Papal chair as Gregory V. It was a popular step everywhere except at Rome, as it was



EQUESTRIAN STATUE OF MARCUS AURELIUS

felt throughout Europe that the Papacy would never be raised from its degraded condition by an Italian Pope. The Pope was now for the first time recognised as the head of a cosmopolitan spiritual world. From this time up to the Reformation a reasonable number of non-Italians were elected, and the power of the Papacy was felt in every part of the civilised world.

The return to the old custom of confining the Papal chair to Italians, coincided with the decadence of its power. We must not, however, assume that a foreign Pope would now be a success. He would bring to the Roman Church an increased allegiance from his own country; but the modern sensitive spirit of international jealousy would make his position precarious, perhaps untenable.

In 996 Otto III. came to Rome, where he was crowned by his nominee; and the Republic of Crescentius melted away in the presence of the emperor. But as soon as Otto had returned to Germany, Crescentius headed a revolt against the German Pope, who was driven out of the city, and an anti-pope, John XVI., placed on the vacant throne. Otto III., like Otto I., had to return to Rome to reinstate his Pope by force. He was severer on the anti-pope than Otto I. had been with Peter the Prefect. The nose, tongue and ears of John XVI. were cut off, and his eyes put out; in this mutilated condition he was fastened upon an ass, his head to the animal's tail, and paraded through the streets. Great cruelty was always shown to a captured anti-pope, but the supply of candidates for the position remained in excess of the demand.

For some time Crescentius held the Castle of St. Angelo against the emperor, but he had to surrender at last, and was executed. Otto did not long survive. In 1002 he died at the early age of twenty-three. The story is that he was poisoned by Stephania, widow of Crescentius, who became his mistress with the fixed intention of avenging her husband. Stephania also contrived to have poison administered to the second German Pope, also a nominee of Otto—Silvester II.—who died in 1003 in the church of S. Croce in Gerusalemme while he was celebrating mass. It was a time of the wildest superstition. The end of the world

was confidently anticipated in the year 1000, documents usually beginning with the words, 'appropinquante termino mundi.' Silvester was both intelligent and learned, qualities which at that age were regarded as derivable only from the devil. He was spoken of with bated breath as a necromancer. Men crossed themselves when they mentioned his name, being convinced that he had entered into a compact with the evil one. It was said that he had in his possession a magical brazen head, which had foretold his death in Jerusalem, represented in Rome by the church in which he actually died. And it seems to be the fact that he used steam-power for blowing the church organ. 'Ipse Gerbertus' (Silvester II.) 'fecit arte mechanicâ horologium et organa hydraulica, ubi mirum in modum, per aquae calefactae violentiam, implet ventus emergens concavitatem barbati et per multos foratiles tractus aereae fistulae modulatos clamores emittunt.' (Milman.)

With the death of Otto III. the Papacy reverted for a time to the nobility. It was held as a chattel—a sort of advowson—by the Counts of Tusculum, descendants of Marozia and Alberic, and a younger branch of the family of Crescentius. A second John Crescentius ruled Rome as Senator and Patricius, while a relative of his was Prefect of the city. There was no strong burgher class in Rome. The noble families controlled the Papacy and the city by means of their nominee, in the office of Patricius. Since Pepin had accepted the title of Patricius in the eighth century, and Charlemagne had honoured the name and office, the Patriciate had been regarded as an *ex-officio* appanage of the Empire. When the emperor was in Rome he governed the city as Patricius. During his absence the Patricius had nearly all the Imperial powers.

Except for a short period in 1014, when Henry II.

came to Rome for his coronation, the city and the Papacy were entirely in the hands of the Tusculan branch of the Crescentius stem. On the death of Benedict VIII., in 1024, his brother Romanus, Senator and Prefect—not even a priest—was raised without opposition to the Papal seat. When, on his death in 1033, the Tusculan influence raised a small boy, aged ten, to the chair of St. Peter, it seemed that a hereditary Papal dynasty had been founded. Election had become a matter of form, as it had been to the family of Augustus.

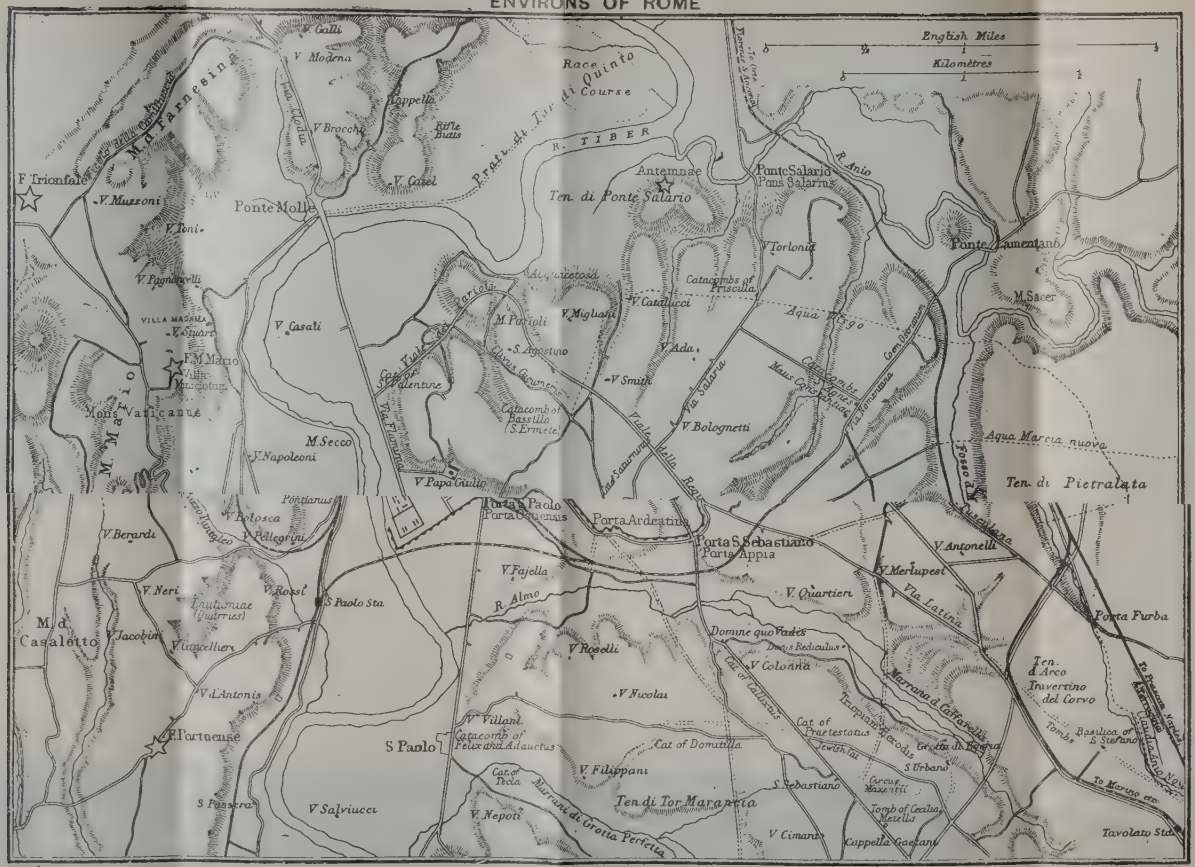
But Benedict IX., the new Pope, proved himself the Nero of the Tusculan Papacy. Absolute power appears to paralyse the brain if applied at an early age before the normal growth has been completed. Benedict IX. was undoubtedly the worst of all the Popes. 'He ruled,' says Milman, 'like a captain of banditti rather than a prelate. Adulteries, homicides perpetrated by his own hand, passed unnoticed, unrevenged; for the Patricius of the city, Gregory, was his brother.' Victor III., a contemporary and successor in the Papacy, says: 'Cujus quidem post adeptum sacerdotium vita quam turpis, quam fœda, quam execranda extiterit, horresco referre.' At last the Romans became so ashamed of their pastor that they drove him out of the city and elected a substitute, Silvester III. But the Tusculan nobles were too strong, and reinstated their relation. Benedict seems, however, to have tired of his position. He had been eleven years Pope and was now of age. He fell in love with his cousin, daughter of one Gerard de Saxo, presumably, from his name, the master of a rock or fortress. The father refused to give up his daughter to the Pope so long as he was Pope. Benedict IX., without more ado, put up the Papacy to auction, and accepted the bid of a relative of his own, who took

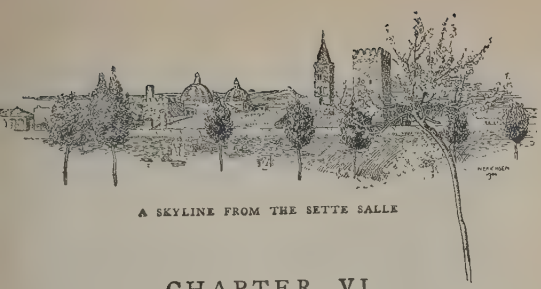
the name of Gregory VI. Unhappily Gerard de Saxo—a strange father for those days—listened to the protests of the young lady, who absolutely declined to become the wife of the youthful *roué*, whether as reigning or as abdicated Pope. Finding entreaties useless, and threats absurd—in face of a rock,—Benedict decided to resume the dropped Papacy. With the aid of his brother, the Prefect, he seized the Lateran; the Didius Julianus of the Papacy, Gregory VI., was officiating in Santa Maria Maggiore; and Silvester III., the Roman nominee, had possession of St. Peter's and the Vatican. There were three Popes in Rome, who spent much of their time in launching bulls of excommunication against each other. The scandal was so great that the German king, Henry III., came to Rome to put an end to it. He dismissed all three Popes, placed a German bishop on the throne as Clement II., and was by him crowned emperor in 1046.

Benedict IX. and Nero both succeeded in achieving the apparently impossible. They shocked their contemporaries. Nero's conduct produced the violent reaction personified in the figure of the austere Vespasian soon to be followed by the glories of Trajan, Hadrian and the Antonines. Benedict IX. was not less successful. After the exploits of Theodora, Marozia and their papal nominees, the sense of shame seemed dead. The boy Pope managed to arouse it. Horror at his doings led to the revolution in the Church which culminated in the Mediæval Papacy of Gregory VII. and Innocent III., when the whole of Europe admitted the supremacy of the Pope. Nero, by ending the hereditary empire, made possible the cosmopolitan primacy of Rome. Benedict IX., by exposing the folly of a hereditary papacy, opened the chair of St. Peter to all nations, thus giving to the Papacy

a breadth of influence which it could not otherwise have attained. Such were the great results which flowed from the insanity which, sooner or later, is sure to attack the youthful recipient of a power which he has not earned.

ARMS OF BENEDICT XIV. (LAMBERTINI)


ENVIRONS OF ROME
English Miles
Kilomètres
Race Course
Quinto
Prati di Tor di Quinto
R. TIBER
Antemnae
Ten. di Ponte Salario
Ponte Salario
Pons Salarius
R. Anio
Ponte Lamentano
F. Trionfale
V. Muzzoni
Ponte Molle
V. Toni
V. Pagnanelli
VILLA MADAMA
V. Casali
M. Pinciani
V. Migliani
V. Catullici
Catacombs of Priscilla
Aqua Virgo
M. Sacer
V. Torlonia
V. Ada
V. Smith
S. Agostino
Via Salaria
Via Nomentana
Via Flaminia
Mons Vaticanus
M. Secco
V. Napoleoni
V. Papa Giulio
V. Bolognetti
Aqua Marcia nuova
Ten. di Pietralata
Porta Paolo
Porta Ostiensis
Porta Ardeatina
Porta S. Sebastiano
Porta Appia
V. Berardi
V. Pellegrini
V. Antonelli
V. Merlupest
V. Fajella
R. Almo
V. Quartieri
Via Latina
Porta Furba
V. Neri
V. Rossi
S. Paolo Sta
Casaletto
V. Rocelli
Domine quo Vadis
V. Colonna
Ten. d'Arco Travertino del Corvo
V. Nicolai
V. Villani
S. Paolo
Cat of Domitilla
Cat of Praetextatus
Jewish Cat
Basilica of S. Stefano
V. Filippani
Ten. di Tor Marancia
S. Sebastiano
Circus Maxentii
Tomb of Cecilia Metella
V. Salviucci
V. Nepoti
V. Cimarra
Cappella Gaetani
Tavolato Sta
Marrana di Grotta Perfetta



A SKYLINE FROM THE SETTE SALLE

CHAPTER VI

The Middle of the Middle Age

Propter quod opus fuit homini duplici directivo, secundum duplicem finem: scilicet summo Pontifice, qui secundum revelata humanum genus perduceret ad vitam aeternam: et Imperatore, qui secundum philosophica documenta genus humanum ad temporalem felicitatem dirigeret.—*Dante*, '*De Monarchia*' xv.

Ma Vaticano, e l'altre parti elette
Di Roma, che son state cimitero
Alla milizie che Pietro segnette,
Tosto libere fien dell' adultéro.
Dante, '*Paradiso*' ix. 139-42.

ALL historical events are as the links of a chain, leaning on the past, making possible the future. Every age is an age of transition. There is no clear line of demarcation separating the classic, mediæval and modern periods; they merge into each other imperceptibly. It is, however, desirable to attempt some definition of terms which are in constant use and have special interest in connection with the ever-green city of Rome.

The Middle Age is the age which lies in the middle, between the classic and the modern. The classic world was on its death-bed in the fourth century, and

did not survive the fifth. The three blows which finally killed it were, the adoption of Christianity by Constantine, the desertion of Rome for Constantinople, and the fall of the Roman Imperium.

The advent of the modern epoch is usually placed in the time of the Renaissance. With the story of Rome for our guide, we can see that there are reasons in favour of a much later date.

The Christian's hope of a future life of happiness was one of the chief influences which drew men away from the pagan belief and led to the triumph of Christianity. But when the Church, stepping into the position vacated by the fallen Empire, had become the Government, it added, as every government must do, the fear of punishment to the hope of reward. It was not in a position to inflict execution, imprisonment, confiscation of property, or any other terrestrial discipline; nor could it offer any State office or other monetary prize. Its sphere of influence was not in this world, but in the next. As a means of enforcing discipline, it added hell to heaven. As time went on, fear was found to be a stronger influence than hope. Applying pressure at the weakest point, men were gradually taught to regard heaven not so much as a place of enjoyment *per se*, but chiefly as a refuge from hell. Princes and peasants, crusaders, monks, friars, flagellants, all became animated by one supreme desire—to escape the eternal tortures of a future life. The Pope governed the mediæval world by the simple expedients of excommunication, anathema and interdict. The deep, dark valley which lies between the classic and modern mountain ranges, is the valley of the shadow of hell.

Mankind has but lately begun to emerge from that dismal pit. It was not till 1859 that the *Origin of Species* was published; not till 1870 that the holder of

the keys of heaven—and, therefore, hell—lost much of his practical power. The career of the mediæval bogey was not stopped by the Renaissance. No age can be regarded as modern which retains its belief in the eternal fires of an existence after death.

Politically, the Middle Age is marked by the despotism of princes and the exclusive privileges of the aristocracy. Only by revolution has it been possible to overcome these tyrannical factors. The American revolution of 1776, the French of 1789, and the European of 1848, have produced the modern system of government by an elected parliament, presided over by either a hereditary or an elected head. In the time of the Renaissance there was little sign of that confidence in human nature to which parliamentary government owes its origin and its success. Other features of the Middle Age are its isolation, individualism, and want of unity. It has been called the age of Faith. It were truer to speak of it as the age of Fear. Human beings lived in constant dread of two bad and dangerous phenomena—Satan and Mankind. The more timorous spirits fled from these malignant evils to the innermost recesses of a cloister, or a castle. From the safety of these retreats they would occasionally emerge, to curse the devil, or to slay their fellow-men. Superstition : and hatred : ruled the world. Every town was surrounded by a belt of thick walls, every considerable house was a fortress. The great arteries of life and breath, the Roman roads, were neglected and unserviceable. Communication between town and town, castle and castle, one man and another, was slow and uncertain. Thus a strong feeling of individualism was produced. The owner of a fortress was, except for his feudal obligations, in the position of an independent monarch. The political unity of the Roman Empire having been dissolved, Europe was divided into petty

principalities, semi-independent baronies and free towns. These conditions were gradually modified by the inventions of gunpowder and printing. But it was not until —long after the Renaissance—the steam engine, the telegraph, and the daily Press, began to bring human beings once more into association with each other that, for the first time since the fall of the Roman Imperium, men learned to re-acquire the sentiment of world-citizenship.

All the influences we have named as ushering in the modern period took effect between 1776 and 1871. Till then the world, not having begun to be modern, and having since the fifth century ceased to be classic, was still mediæval or middle.

The Middle Age, then, may be reasonably regarded as the period which lies between Roman Paganism and modern Darwinism, between the Roman Commonwealth and Parliamentary Government, between Roman roads and iron rails, between the Roman Imperium and the cosmopolitanism of a European Press. It began with the fall of Rome: it ended only when Roman ideals were restored. It lasted from the fifth to the nineteenth century.

The central portion of that period—the quintessence of middleness—was marked by the rise, the supremacy, and the fall of the Mediæval Papacy. Gregory VII. was the first Mediæval Pope, Innocent III. the most powerful, Boniface VIII. the last. Beginning at Canossa and ending at Anagni, the Mediæval Papacy, when at the summit of its glory, produced the two characteristic types, the acme of mediævalism—Richard Coeur de Lion and St. Dominic. The slayer of infidels, and the extirpator of heretics, represent the two forces of the age, the sword and the crucifix, both consecrated to the service of the Church; and helped, each in his own sphere

of operations, to raise the topmost Mediæval Pope, Innocent III., to what Gregorovius has called 'a giddy and untenable height.'

This typically mediæval portion of the Middle Age begins with the appearance at Rome in 1046 of the Emperor Henry III., by whom the papal scandals of two centuries were brought to a termination, and an Imperial nominee placed upon the chair of St. Peter, thus producing the long conflict between Emperor and Pope, which proved disastrous to both. In 1268 the mediæval Empire came to an end with the death of Conradin on the block; in 1309 the mediæval Papacy left Rome, where alone it could live, to wither away at Avignon; and Rome, deserted by her Pope, fell into neglect and decay. Between 1046 and 1309 the Holy Roman Emperor, the Holy Roman Pope, and Holy Rome—the three main features in mediæval history—had fallen, never again to see their former greatness. The two and a half centuries which lie between the middle of the eleventh and the beginning of the fourteenth, may thus be regarded as forming the Middle of the Middle Age.

Henry III., having suppressed the three rivals calling themselves Benedict IX., Gregory VI., and Silvester III., was crowned in 1046 by his German nominee, Clement II.

The four German Popes nominated in succession by Henry III. were sincere and devout men, eager, with the assistance of the deeply-religious emperor, to reform the Church. But they all died within ten years, three of them, it was said, of poison. After them came a series of short-lived popes, who were directed in all important matters by the master spirit of the age—the monk Hildebrand. He himself became Pope as Gregory VII. in 1073.

Hildebrand, born at Saona, in Tuscany, came to

Rome as a boy to enter the monastery of S. Maria on the Aventine, whence he proceeded to the Benedictine monastery of Cluny in Burgundy. In his time a monk was either shamelessly dissolute or extravagantly ascetic. Hildebrand and Damiani, the two great monks of the age, rose to fame by their bodily self-mortifications. But the future Pope was too practical, and able, to sink into a mere self-flagellator. While Damiani was content to subjugate the world within himself, Hildebrand intended to subdue the world without. The Church was in a corrupt and degraded condition, suffering especially from simony, the marriage of priests, and lay investiture. Every office in the Church, including the Papacy itself, was for sale to the highest bidder. The clergy had earned an evil reputation in the matter of sexual morality. And the connection between Church and State subjected the hierarchy to the obligations imposed by the feudal system, and gave too great a prominence to the secular aspect of the prelates. The bishops acted as feudal lords. They led troops into battle, took part in the field sports usual among the nobility, indulged in luxury and worldly display. It was the natural endeavour of every prominent Churchman to obtain a hereditary claim in his family for ecclesiastical preferment. The sovereign had the right of investiture ; by a symbolical act, such as the presentation of ring and pastoral staff, he invested a cleric with the temporal benefits arising from his spiritual office. The idea of illimitable Cæsarian power, derived by the emperor through Charlemagne, was prevalent. The Pope and the Church were under the complete control of the emperor.

Hildebrand resolutely set himself to reform the Church and to free it from Imperial control. He attacked simony and the marriage of priests. He produced the 'War of Investitures' by his repudiation of

the Imperial claim to confer Church appointments. He boldly asserted the supremacy of Pope over emperor as of soul over body, of Christ over Cæsar, of God over man. When he began this work the Church stood lower in ability, character and power than it has ever stood, and was dependent for its very existence upon the protection of German kings. Before his death the Church was reformed and a German king was on his knees, begging for mercy. A hundred years after him a Pope (Innocent III.) was the acknowledged dispenser of kingdoms, whether in this world or the next. Hildebrand has been well described as the Julius, with Innocent III. as the Augustus, of the Papal Empire. For it was with all the creative genius of Julius Cæsar that he produced what Gregorovius has called 'one of the most violent revolutions known to history.'

When Henry III. died in 1056, his son Henry IV. was only six years of age. During the boy's minority a Lateran council, presided over by Pope Nicholas II., but controlled by the influence of Hildebrand, passed a decree concerning Papal elections, which was the starting-point for all subsequent reforms. It began :—'We decree and appoint that, on the death of the present Pontiff of the universal Roman Church, the cardinals shall, in the first place, proceed to a new election, regard being had to the honour and reverence due to our dearly-loved son, Henry, who is now styled King, and who, it is hoped, will hereafter, by the gift of God, become Emperor.' The decree made three things necessary for the election of a Pope. First, the selection of the cardinals; second, the assent of the three ancient elective orders (clergy, nobility and people of Rome—*clerus*, *ordo*, *populus*); and third, the confirmation of the emperor.

The Romans and the Imperialists perceived that in practice their assent would be ignored; that when the

cardinals had given their decision no protests would be of any avail. The Romans sent to the young Henry the green mantle, ring and diadem which were the symbols of the Patriciate, and asked him, as Patricius of Rome, to elect a Pope. In their revolt against the policy of Hildebrand they were joined by the German Imperialist party, by those of the clergy who had obtained their preferment by simony, and by others who were married. Hildebrand, on his side, was supported by those Italians who wished to free the election of the Pope from German or other foreign influence; by those who saw that reform of the clergy was necessary if the Church was to retain her influence; and by the best soldiers in Europe—the Normans.

Hildebrand, now Gregory VII., deposed many of the married or simoniac clergy; and he forbade the acceptance by a priest of any ecclesiastical office at the hands of a layman, under the penalties of deposition and excommunication. This was an attack upon the feudal system itself, and upon the sovereign who stood at its head, for all Churchmen who were princes or nobles were absolved from their fealty. A revolt in Rome was organised by the Imperialists under the leadership of a wild Roman noble named Cencius. At midnight of Christmas Eve, 1075, Gregory was celebrating the Holy Eucharist in the Basilica of S. Maria Maggiore. This beautiful church, the first to be dedicated to the Virgin Mary, was originally called S. Maria ad Nives from the story connected with its erection. In the fourth century the Bishop Liberius, in a midnight vision, was ordered by the Virgin to build a church in her honour on the space which, though the month was August, would on the morrow be found covered with snow. The miracle took place as the Blessed Virgin had announced, and the basilica was at once set

in hand, and now stands upon the exact area marked by the August snowfall. There are some fine mosaics in this church; those above the cornice of the nave date from the fifth century, and those in the apse of the tribune from the thirteenth. But these mosaics, and the entire basilica, have been so frequently and so thoroughly restored in later times, that it would hardly now be recognised by the participators in the drama of 800 years ago. It was a gloomy night, the rain fell heavily, and the church contained but few worshippers. Suddenly the holy ceremonies were interrupted by the violent entry of armed men, led by Cencius, who seized the Pope, wounded him by a cut on the head, stripped him of his vestments, and dragged him by the hair out of the church to one of the fortified towers of Cencius.

S.S. MARIA MAGGIORE

Here he was threatened with death, and a cession of papal treasure was demanded. Gregory bore himself with dignity, refused all concession, and was rescued by the populace next day. Though still bruised and bleeding, he returned to the basilica, and finished the celebration which had been so outrageously interrupted. His fortitude and composure were a fine example for St. Thomas à Becket when attacked and murdered in the cathedral of Canterbury, and for Pope Boniface VIII. when assaulted by Sciarra Colonna and the bullies of Philip

le Bel at Anagni in 1303. This triumph of spirit over body added greatly to the force of the moral weapons wielded by the Pope in his contest with the emperor.

When Henry IV. had attained manhood he definitely refused to abandon simony or lay investiture. Gregory summoned him to Rome, there to answer for his conduct. Henry's reply was to assemble synods at Worms and Piacenza, which pronounced the deposition of Gregory. He wrote a letter to Gregory beginning with the words: 'Henry, not by usurpation, but by God's holy ordination, king, to Hildebrand, no longer Pope, but false monk,' and commanding him to descend from the papal chair. Gregory's answer was a sentence of deposition and anathema against Henry which terrified the world. At a great council held in the Lateran, in the presence of 110 prelates, and of the Empress Agnes, the mother of Henry, he rose and announced the sentence of the Church as follows:—

'Blessed Peter, prince of the Apostles, incline, we beseech thee, to us thine ear; and hear me, thy servant, whom from infancy thou hast nourished, and whom, to this day, thou hast preserved from the hands of the evil ones, who have hated, and still hate me, for my fidelity to thee. Thou art my witness, with our Lady, the Mother of God, with thy brother, the blessed Paul, and with all saints, that thy holy Roman Church called me, against my own will, to its governance; that I have not thought it robbery to ascend thy seat; and that I would rather have finished my life in wandering, than have seized that seat, in a worldly spirit, for the glory of this earth. Through thy favour, and not through aught that I have done, I believe it to have pleased, and still to please thee, that the Christian people, specially committed to thee, should obey me in thy stead; through thy favour I have received from God the power of binding and of loosing in heaven and in

earth. Relying on this, for the honour and defence of thy Church, in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, and by thy power and authority, I forbid to King Henry, son of Henry the emperor, who, through an unexampled pride, has rebelled against thy holy Church, the government of the whole realm of Germany and Italy. I absolve all Christians from the oaths which they have taken, or may take to him; and I decree that no one shall obey him as king; for it is fitting that he, who has endeavoured to diminish the honour of thy Church, should himself lose that honour which he seems to have. And because he has scorned the obedience of a Christian, refusing to return to the Lord whom he had driven from him by his communion with the excommunicated—by spurning, as thou knowest, the admonitions given by me for his own safety's sake—and by severing himself from thy Church in the attempt to divide it—I, in thy stead, bind him with the bond of anathema; thus acting in confidence on thee, that the nations may know and acknowledge that thou art Peter—that upon thy rock the Son of the living God hath built His Church, and that the gates of hell shall not prevail against it.'

Henry IV. was no ordinary prince. He was the most powerful monarch in Europe, and entitled to be crowned Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire. No such sentence had ever been pronounced against a great king; nor had any subsequent repetition the tremendous effect of this the first and most successful of all the sentences passed by popes upon kings. It was not merely excommunication, exclusion from the privileges of the Church, though that in itself was a very serious matter at a time when priestly assistance was considered to be absolutely essential for escape from a future life of endless torture. But anathema was also a curse: and it was commonly believed that the launching of such a

sentence might even have effect upon the body of the culprit, producing sudden death, without time for the repentance, penance and absolution which alone could stave off the agonies of hell. If the anathema was not removed the outcast was incapable of holding any office in the service of the State; was cut off from ordinary intercourse with Christians; had no position in ecclesiastical courts, and could not, therefore, hold Church property or make a will; could not give evidence in secular courts because he was considered incapable of binding himself by oath; no priest would marry him, baptise his child, or give him the last sacraments or burial in consecrated ground. All who communicated with or assisted him in any way were *ipso facto* under the same terrible sentence. In short, excommunication alone, and anathema still more so, were regarded as placing a man outside the pale of society, ensuring both to him and to all who associated with him a future life of everlasting torture.

The effect of this thunderbolt must have surpassed the expectations of Gregory himself. A meeting of German princes and prelates ordered Henry to announce his submission to the Pope, to dismiss his army, and live as a private citizen, with no show of royalty, and not to presume to enter a church. If at the end of a year the ban had not been removed, they would consider that he had lost all right to their allegiance, and would proceed to elect a new king. Henry was unable to withstand this sentence. With the queen, his son, and a few followers, he started on his journey across the Alps to make his submission to Gregory. The winter was exceptionally severe, the Rhine being frozen over from the middle of November to the following April. The ascent and descent of Mont Cenis were perilous adventures. After great toil and hardship Henry at length reached the plains of Italy. He learned that

Gregory was in the castle of Canossa, a fortress belonging to the Pope's great ally, the Countess Matilda, and he at once proceeded thither.

The fortress of Canossa stood on a spur of the Apennines about twenty miles S.E. of Parma. Though small it was strong, and surrounded by a triple wall. Milman has thus described the memorable scene which was there enacted. 'On a dreary winter morning, with the ground deep in snow, the king, the heir of a long line of emperors, was permitted to enter within the two outer of the three walls which girded the castle of Canossa. He had laid aside every mark of royalty or of distinguished station; he was clad only in the thin white linen dress of the penitent, and there, fasting, he awaited in humble patience the pleasure of the Pope. But the gates did not unclose. A second day he stood, cold, hungry and mocked by vain hope. And yet a third day dragged on from morning to evening over the unsheltered head of the discrowned king. Every heart was moved except that of the representative of Jesus Christ.'

At last, on the fourth day, the intercessions of the Countess Matilda and of the Abbot of Cluny obtained for Henry an interview with the Pope, who finally was prevailed upon to give Henry absolution, on condition that he agreed to retain or forfeit his crown at the will of the Pope, to lay aside all royal insignia, and to abandon all royal functions till Gregory had given him permission to resume them.

Henry was in a difficult position, but it was a mistake to submit to these humiliating terms. The German Empire in its contest with the Papacy never recovered from the degradation of Canossa. The recollection of that scene survived in the words of Bismarck during his quarrel with Leo XIII. 'Come what may,' said the great Chancellor, 'Nach

Canossa gehen wir nicht.' While Henry's loyal Lombard subjects were enraged with him for having humbled them all by his abasement, the hostile party among the German princes were encouraged in their opposition. They elected Rudolph of Swabia as king. The Pope accepted Rudolph, and ventured to prophesy, on the authority of divine revelation, that Henry would be dead within a year. But before the year was out Rudolph was dead, while Henry still lived. In that superstitious age the failure of so solemn a prophecy was a serious matter, and it proved to be the turning-point in the Pope's career.

Henry succeeded in gathering a considerable army, with which, in 1081, he crossed the Alps and marched upon Rome. For three successive years he camped before Rome, being driven away each summer by malaria and pestilence. The Romans, well paid by the Countess Matilda, at first were loyal to Gregory, but his unpopularity, the discomforts of the siege, and Henry's counter-bribes, at length turned the scale, and in 1084 the German king obtained possession of the greater part of the city. Gregory took refuge in the castle of St. Angelo, and Henry was crowned emperor by the anti-pope of his own creation, who called himself Clement III. Gregory was threatened with a scene of humiliation which would have effaced the recollection of Canossa, though it would not have been easy, while life was in the grim old man, to make him beg for pardon. He was spared the ordeal by the opportune arrival of his Norman ally, Robert Guiscard, at the head of a large army which Henry could not oppose. While Henry retreated northwards, Gregory VII. was escorted in triumph to the Lateran.

As punishment for its defection from the Papal cause, Rome was given up to the savage horde, under

Guiscard, for a three days' sack. On the third day the Romans turned upon their tormentors and killed many of them. Guiscard thereupon ordered the city to be set on fire. The conflagration which ensued is one of the chief events in the monumental history of the city. The Field of Mars was swept nearly bare. The region between the Lateran and the Colosseum was utterly destroyed. The Cælian and Aventine Hills have never since returned to their former populous condition. All the previous sacks and sieges combined were as nothing compared to the destruction produced by the Norman champions of the Pope.

When the Normans retired, Gregory, whose life was now in danger at Rome, availed himself of their protection to escape from the vengeance of his flock. Just a year after the sack of Rome he died—25th May 1085—at Salerno. His last words were: 'I have loved righteousness and hated iniquity; therefore I die in exile.'

From the time of Gregory VII. the Papacy was regarded, throughout Christendom, as a moral power with which every evil-doer, whether king or peasant, had to reckon. Thenceforth it was recognised that among the Papal prerogatives was the right to excommunicate even an emperor. The Pope was accepted as the holder of the conscience of Europe. Gregory VII. was not a great temporal prince. Rudolph of Swabia, the Countess Matilda, and Robert Guiscard had to fight the Pope's battles. But he made the Mediæval Papacy the source whence the Christian principles of justice and righteousness were spread over Europe. Without it the world would have been much longer in emerging from the Dark Age.

But the policy of this really great Pope had another, most vital, result. It separated society into two sharply

defined, antipathetic classes—the lay and the clerical; hence inevitably resulted the despotism of the Church. 'Il faut le dire,' says Guizot, 'le vice radical des relations de l'Eglise avec les peuples, c'est la séparation des gouvernants et des gouvernés, la non-influence des gouvernés sur leur gouvernement, l'indépendance du clergé chrétien à l'égard des fidèles.' The independence of the clergy was merely another phrase for the tyranny of the Church. That, in the eyes of Hildebrand, was its recommendation. The Mediæval Papacy carried the doctrine of the supremacy of the soul over the body to its logical conclusion. And the Roman Curia to this day continues to assert the Hildebrandian claims.

Though Gregory VII. triumphed over Henry IV. when he was young and self-indulgent, his later enterprises against the German king were disastrous; and his claims were treated with contempt by a prince as able and as determined as himself, William the Conqueror. The Norman Duke had been greatly assisted in his invasion of England by the sanction his enterprise had received from the consecrated banner given him by Pope Alexander II. But though he made use of Rome, he intended to be sole master of the souls, as of the bodies, of his subjects. When Gregory called upon him to pay Peter's Pence and swear fealty to the Apostolic See, William calmly replied: 'Your legate has admonished me in your name to do fealty to you and to your successors, and to take better order as to the money which my predecessors have been accustomed to send to the Roman Church; the one I have admitted, the other I have not admitted. I refused to do fealty, nor will I do it, because neither have I promised it, nor do I find that my predecessors have performed it for years.' He continued the payment of Peter's Pence, but expressly stated that it was

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not tribute but alms. Gregory wisely refrained from embarking on a struggle with a monarch who was as masterful as himself.

The difficulties of Henry IV. did not end with the death of Gregory. His eldest and much-loved son Conrad revolted, and his wife, the Empress Adelaide, took the son's part. But the death of the young prince, and the wise concessions of Henry, enabled him to enforce upon his rebellious vassals a truce of four years. Then his second son, Henry, who had been named his successor and crowned, on his making a solemn oath that he would ever be loyal to his father, perjured himself by raising the standard of rebellion. The young Henry was a master of hypocrisy. Before a great assembly of nobles and prelates he prayed, with flowing tears, for the conversion of his father, still excommunicate, and declared that he had no wish for his deposition, but merely for his reconciliation with the Holy See, for his penitence and absolution. The emperor obtained an interview with his son: 'Do not thou,' said he, 'sully thy honour and thy name. No law of God obliges a son to be the instrument of divine vengeance against his father.' The son wept, begged forgiveness, promised allegiance, and finally proposed that each should dismiss his retinue, and that they should proceed together to Mentz, there to celebrate the holy season of Christmas. The emperor consented, and as they journeyed up the bank of the Rhine together, he freely gave vent to expressions of affection, and even to caresses, all of which the son carefully requited, repeating solemn oaths that his father should suffer no harm at his hands, and pledging his own head for his safety. Next day, when they had entered the castle of Böckelheim together, the son did not shrink from ordering his father to be seized and put in prison, where he was starved, threatened with

execution, and forced to abdicate. Like David flying from Absalom, he may well have exclaimed, 'Lord, how are they increased that trouble me. Many are they that rise against me.' In a few months the emperor was dead, of a broken heart. Even his body was denied burial in consecrated ground, until the remonstrances of his people, with whom he had always been a favourite, prevailed, after five years of dispute. The chronicler Otbert, in concluding his story, says: 'Here you have all about the exploits, the charities, the fortune and the death of the Emperor Henry, a tale which as I without tears was not able to write, so you without tears will not be able to read.' His memory is still dear to the German nation. He retrieved his early mistakes, and manfully withstood the claim of the Papacy to regard the German crown as a Papal possession, and the German people as vassals of Rome.

Henry V. continued the war of investitures, with varying fortune. He came to Rome in 1111 demanding the Imperial crown, which the Pope, Paschal II., refused to give. Henry seized the Pope in St. Peter's, carried him away prisoner, and forced him to perform the coronation ceremony. The quarrel ended in a Concordat, ratified at Worms by the Papal legate, and accepted by the German people in 1122. It was a compromise. The emperor secured control of his own bishops, who were to be vassals of the crown and subject to the feudal obligations. He abandoned the Imperial claim to control the election of a Pope, and the appointment of non-German bishops. Thus ended the war of investitures, which had raged throughout Germany and Italy for fifty years.

While it was still unfinished the Crusades had begun. The capture of Jerusalem by the Turks in 1065 came at an opportune time for the Church. The scandals

and schisms of the tenth and eleventh centuries had begun to lessen the homage of Europe, when the Moslem danger gave the Pope a last opportunity of reuniting Christendom in one cause under his banner.

From the time of Constantine the Holy Land had been a favourite goal for devout pilgims. St. Jerome was one of the first, towards the end of the fourth century, to organise an expedition to Palestine, and to collect alms for the founding of convents and for the relief of the poor Christians at Jerusalem. Justinian caused some splendid buildings to be erected there, and his example was followed by Gregory the Great, and by Charlemagne. But when the Turks became masters of the country, the pilgrims, among them one Peter, a hermit, were subjected to robbery and violence. Peter complained of his treatment to Pope Urban II., who urged him to relate his story throughout Christendom, and preach a crusade. Dressed in a long coarse garment, tied round the waist with a piece of rope, with head and feet bare, a crucifix in his hand, and seated upon a mule, the eloquence of Peter, with its tears, groans and beatings of the breast, aroused Christendom to a condition of frenzy. Urban summoned a council at Clermont Ferrand, in Auvergne, where, amid a scene of great enthusiasm, a general crusade for the capture of the Holy Land was voted by acclamation.

The Crusades show us Europe still subject to the spell of Rome. After seven hundred years of freedom from the tyrannical control of Cæsar, men still felt the centralising influence of Rome. Politically, Europe was divided into very small pieces. Roman discipline and unity had given way to a freedom, an independence, that closely approximated to anarchy. Some sort of order was enforced by the Feudal System. But Rome alone could bring Europe to a sense of common

interests. Under the banner, not of Christ, nor of the Pope, but of Rome, hostile princes were prepared to sheathe their fratricidal swords in order to draw them together against an anti-Roman, and therefore universal, enemy.

The Crusaders were also greatly influenced by the striking success which had attended the invasion of England by William the Norman. The Norman arms had been blessed by the Pope. The defeat and death of Harold were regarded as a heaven-sent judgment for falsehood and wrong. The intervention of God in human disputes was firmly credited, hence the popularity of the trial of accused persons by the ordeals of fire and battle. It was not doubted that God would defend the right. The expedition of Duke William was, in fact, the first Crusade. It was the first war of conquest sanctioned by religion. Might and right, the sword and the crozier, were for the first time joined together in holy alliance. It was believed that no power could withstand that combination.

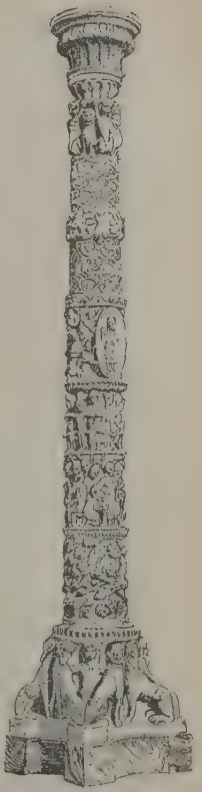
Another strong incentive towards the Crusades was the new spirit of chivalry. Ever since the fall of the Roman Empire, treachery and falsehood had been steadily on the increase, until, in the ninth and tenth centuries, they had ceased to excite comment, and were always expected. The chivalry of the Feudal System, with its insistence upon the recognition of honourable obligations, was a reaction against the moral anarchy of the dark ages. Upon this basis of feudal honour the splendid ideals of chivalry were raised.

The first virtue essential to chivalry was fidelity to engagements, whether as vassal to a lord or lover to his lady. Breach of faith, especially of an express promise, was a disgrace that no valour could redeem. False, perjured, disloyal, recreant were the worst of all disgraceful epithets. Amongst many other benefits

derived from this raising of the standard of truth, was its alleviation of the horrors of war. In the Anglo-French wars of Edward III. it was no longer necessary to kill, or even to guard, a noble prisoner. He was set free on giving his word of honour that he would return with a stipulated ransom.

Other necessary features of chivalry were courtesy, disdain of money, self-denial, protection of the weak (especially women), courage in battle, and a readiness at any moment to take up a just cause.

The Crusades were the means of imparting a religious character to chivalry. Every knight, on receiving his rank, pledged himself to fight for the Church, the ceremonies on his investiture being almost wholly of a religious character. Hence grew those remarkable associations — the Knights Templars and Knights Hospitallers. The Templars had their origin in the association of nine French knights for the protection of the Christian pilgrims who, on their way from Jerusalem to cleanse themselves from sin by washing in the Jordan, were exposed to Moslem attacks. When the order was established in 1127 it adopted the monastic vows of poverty, chastity and obedience. The seal shows two knights on one horse, a symbol of brotherly



NERICHSEN

CANDELABRUM IN S. PAOLO FUORI

love; the banner, Beauséant, was white on one side and black on the other, to indicate their loyalty to Christians and hostility to infidels. The Hospitallers were a similar order, originating in a hostel for sick and destitute pilgrims. Both orders, but especially the Templars, whose aims were more military than charitable, were highly attractive to the three great passions of the age—chivalric pride, monastic devotion and zeal against infidels.

The fortunes of the Papacy rose and fell with the flow and ebb of the crusading fervour. Whereas hitherto the only perfect life had been that of the monk, the same sublime position could now be attained by those who fought for the tomb of Christ. It had long been recognised that every pilgrim to the Holy Land acquired a holy, a sanctified character. It was now believed that to fight for the Cross was to make sure of heaven; and, for men of bad character, that it was their only chance of escaping hell. And the Church gave many other rewards to the Christian warrior. A peasant was forgiven the fealty he owed to his lord, a prisoner set free, a debtor released from his obligations, by taking up the Cross. The Crusader was dispensed from all temporal, civil and social obligations. The Pope thus obtained an excuse for releasing vassals, prisoners and debtors from their entanglements — for interfering in the civil affairs of every nation. Refractory or hostile princes were ordered to take up the Cross, on pain of excommunication. The Emperor Frederic II. was excommunicated five times—for not taking the Cross, for not starting for the Holy Land, for starting, while there, and for returning. During the absence of the knights on an expedition from which many never returned, a Papal representative administered their territory. The Crusades were a splendid source of income to the

Church. Dispensation from the obligation of taking the Cross was bought by a money payment. Papal collectors were sent into every country to transmit the immense sums so raised. They were given to the Pope to be disbursed by him on behalf of the Crusading armies; and he refused to publish any account of his receipts.

The Crusades had other very important results. Vassals were released from their obligations, and the absence of the feudal lords caused a merging of small fiefs into large ones. Thus the Feudal System was shaken, and the power of the sovereign increased. The travelling which they occasioned, the intercourse between men of different nations, enlarged the intellectual horizon of the age. Navigation was improved, ships of large size being required for transport, and a new era in commerce was inaugurated. Moreover, the Crusading armies did succeed in keeping the Turks out of Europe till 1453. If the capture of Constantinople had been anticipated by 350 years, the period of barbarian excursions would have been greatly extended.

It was from France, the land of chivalry, that the movement derived its first and chief impetus. Urban II., who launched the enterprise on French soil, at Clermont Ferrand, was himself a Frenchman; and so readily did his compatriots respond to his appeal that the Saracens gave to all their opponents, of whatever nationality, the common name of Franks. Of the three greatest Crusaders, the first, Godfrey de Bouillon, and the last, St. Louis, were Frenchmen; between them stood the Anglo-French hero, Richard Plantaganet, Cœur de Lion, the Achilles of the Middle Age. Godfrey, a skilful and brave knight, had all the piety, devotion and humility of the earlier and purer enthusiasts. When he had conquered Palestine, and was named King of Jerusalem (1099), he refused to

accept a crown of gold where his Saviour had worn one of thorns, and took the humbler title of Defender of the Holy Sepulchre. St. Louis IX., King of France, was more of a saint and less of a soldier. On his first crusade he was taken prisoner. His second (1270) ended in his death, of the plague, at Tunis. Equally distant from the triumphant success of Godfrey, and the hopeless failure of St. Louis, was the doubtful conflict between Cœur de Lion and Saladin (1191), which closed with a three years' truce. These three figures epitomise the history of the Crusades. First we have a united spirit of devotion which overcomes all obstacles; then a period of jealousy, rivalry and ambition, of marvellous physical exploits, performed for personal glory rather than permanent military success; in the third stage a useless and pitiful self-sacrifice is all that can be attained.

Contemporary with Cœur de Lion (died 1199) was Pope Innocent III. (1197–1216), under whom the Papacy reached its highest point. 'It belongs to the Apostolic See,' he said, 'to pass judgment on the election of the emperor.' He was able to enforce his views, and had little difficulty in reducing such minor princes as the Kings of England and France to complete submission. When Philip Augustus deserted his wife, the Pope put the whole of France under the Interdict. The French people could not endure the cessation of all Church functions, and the King had to take back his wife. John of England refused to receive Stephen Langton, the Pope's nominee, as Archbishop of Canterbury. Excommunication, deposition, and interdict over the whole of England, were blows which the unpopular John, who had estranged the barons and oppressed the people, could not withstand. He was brought lower than any other English king. He did homage to the Pope by placing his crown in the hands

of the Papal representative in St. Paul's Cathedral; then he formally resigned his kingdom to the Pope, and agreed to make him an annual payment of one thousand marks, not as alms, but as tribute from vassal to his lord. Langton, however, proved to be one of the best Archbishops England ever had. He headed the list of witnesses to the Great Charter, wrung from John in spite of the opposition of the Holy See. The Pope, on hearing the news, annulled the charter and excommunicated Langton. But the English clergy sided with Langton and the barons, and the Pope's curse had no effect.

Innocent III. was recognised as over-lord to all the sovereigns of Europe, and he determined to make Italy a Papal domain. He obtained from the Emperor Otto IV. an undisputed title to the Papal States, and was the first Pope who was admittedly an Italian prince. He was the founder of the states of the Church. It is no accident that with his death began the fall of the Papacy. Hitherto the Pope, in his contest with the temporal power for ecclesiastical privileges, for the Papal dignity, for the importance of the Church, had been able to rely upon the religious enthusiasm of Europe. But the ceaseless struggle for material, worldly benefits, which received its greatest impetus under Innocent III., was regarded as selfish aggrandisement, and alienated the sympathy of the Christian world.

It was during the Pontificate of Innocent III. that the rank growth of heresy reared its unwelcome head. It produced a monastic revolution under the two great mendicants, Dominic and Francis.

The earlier monks—St. Benedict, St. Dunstan, St. Peter Damiani, St. Bernard—devoted themselves with relentless severity to the suppression of physical desire, sensation, even volition. The further from man the nearer would they be to God. The highest form of

perfection consisted in the monastic life of seclusion, in the renunciation of all terrestrial pleasures. St. Bernard, for example, contrived to attain so lofty an abstraction from earthly things that he lost nearly all physical sense; food had no taste, his eyes saw nothing. He ate congealed blood thinking it was butter, and drank oil for water, and never noticed whether his cell had one window or two, or where the window was situated. At the Cistercian monastery of Citeaux, in Burgundy, he passed his early years, and there he gained such fame as an ascetic that he was able to found a new monastery at Clairvaulx, in Champagne. This spot was selected because it was so dreary and barren a solitude that at first his followers could obtain no nourishment, save that which might be derived from beech leaves. There he was visited by Pope Innocent II., for whose delectation he was able to procure one small fish. The Pope showed little desire to make a lengthened stay at Clairvaulx.

But the fact that St. Bernard had acquired such fame by his austerities shows that they had become exceptional. The older monasteries gradually lost their ascetic character. All, in time, became rich and luxurious. It was easier to found a new monastery than to renew an old one, for the monastic spirit was always breaking out afresh, with new institutions, in which poverty and penance were the first requisites. Thus there was a constant strife between the more zealous, devoted spirits on the one hand, and the older monasteries, with their wealthy and luxurious clerics, on the other. The Church admitted, in theory, the necessity for monastic poverty and renunciation; while, in practice, every prelate was ostentatious in self-indulgence. St. Dominic thus rebuked the luxury of the Papal legates who were sent to confer with him as to the suppression of the Languedoc heretics: 'It is not,' said he, 'by

the display of power and pomp, cavalcades of retainers and richly houseled palfreys, or by gorgeous apparel, that the heretics win proselytes; it is by zealous preaching, by apostolic humility, by austerity, by seeming, it is true, but yet seeming holiness. Zeal must be met by zeal, humility by humility, false sanctity by real sanctity, preaching falsehood by preaching truth. Sow the good seed as the heretics sow the bad. Cast off those sumptuous robes, send away those richly-caparisoned palfreys; go barefoot, without purse and scrip, like the Apostles; out-labour, out-fast, out-discipline these false teachers.'

S. DOMINIC'S ORANGE TREE, WITH CAMPANILE OF S. ALESSIO

These principles ultimately found expression in the Dominican Order known as the Friar Preachers. All members of religious orders were *fratres*, brothers, friars; but the mendicants obtained a special use of the term 'friar,' to distinguish them from monks. The latter were friar monks, while the mendicants were friars without being monks.

The distinction is vital. The friars owed their success to their abandonment of the selfish isolation whereby the monks strove to save their own souls. The friars made it their one aim to save the souls of others. Instead of shutting themselves up in cells, they went forth into all parts of the world. They carried the reality of the Christian faith into every household, whether of palace or cottage. They identified themselves with the wants and aims of their fellow-creatures, and thus entirely revolutionised the ideals of Christendom.

The Dominicans, though taking the vows of poverty, were chiefly famous for preaching against heretics. The Franciscans, without ceasing to preach, laid great stress on the prime duties of poverty and humility. St. Francis of Assisi thus laid down the essential virtues of the order he founded :—'The perfection of gladness,' said the gentlest of all the saints, 'consists not in working miracles, in curing the sick, expelling devils or raising the dead; nor in learning and knowledge of all things; nor in eloquence to convert the world, but in bearing all ills and injuries and injustice and despiteful treatment with patience and humility.' The Franciscans obtained from their humility the name of the Friar Minors. They interpreted their vow of poverty in a literal sense. The Franciscan's only possession in the world was his frock and cord. He had no other clothing, no hat nor shoes; no wallet, staff nor book, nor any money at all. He travelled on foot, preaching humility and penitence, relying upon charity for food and lodging. Scarcely differing in principle, the Dominicans and Franciscans gradually acquired the special character of their respective founders. The gloomy severity of the Dominicans, symbolised as Black Friars, contrasted with that cheerfulness which the Grey Friars regarded as the sign of

a clean heart. To the Dominicans, as the great preachers against heresy, was entrusted the Inquisition and punishment of heretics; their preaching was intellectual, strictly orthodox and denunciatory. The Franciscans were milder and more genial; their preaching was more popular, appealing less to the reason, more to sentiment and the affections, and was specially attractive to women. The black Dominican was always pointing to hell, the grey Franciscan to heaven. Neither fraternity adhered for long to their ideals. They soon learned to vie with each other in the collection of wealth, the Franciscans especially distinguishing themselves by their eagerness to attend the bedsides of the dying, for the cruel extortions of testamentary gifts. The hospitality accorded to the friars was abused in a manner incompatible with their vow of chastity. The Franciscans were themselves the leaders of a great heresy; and the Dominicans made the Inquisition the worst tribunal of cruelty and injustice that the civilised world has seen.

The wandering, idle life of the friars attracted loafers and vagabonds in such numbers, and the character of these organisations suffered so severely, that soon after their foundation, in 1274, Gregory X. was obliged to restrict them. Only four orders of friars were sanctioned: Dominicans (Black Friars), Franciscans (Grey Friars), Carmelites (White Friars) and Augustinians (Austin Friars). These four orders of friars form, with the Order of Benedictine Monks (Black), the five great religious orders of the Western Church. To these are affiliated many minor orders and religious congregations.

Twelve years after the death of St. Dominic, Gregory IX. (1233) established the Inquisition, entrusting its administration to the fraternity whose founder had been so stern and zealous a foe to heresy.

The Inquisitors pardoned many of those who were brought before them ; and, doubtless, there were tender-hearted men amongst them who honestly believed that it was better to inflict a temporary torture upon the body in this world, than to consign it to eternal torment in the next. But they elaborated a system of jurisprudence which clouded the human perception of justice, so that men of the most honest and kindly nature were led to believe a prisoner to be guilty before any real evidence had been produced against him. In some countries the judicial system is still based upon Inquisitorial methods. Where this is so the sense of justice is dead, whether in the minds of the judges or the hearts of the people.

The trial of a heretic was a duel between the judge and the prisoner, the object being to extort a confession, for if there was no confession it would be necessary to burn the accused at the stake, and thus the advantage which might be derived from his submission and conversion would be lost. If the prisoner refused to confess, evidence was collected against him. Any statement which seemed to implicate him, no matter what its source, would suffice. Vague rumours were enough. The testimony of small children, or of persons of bad character, though unacceptable in any other court, clerical or lay, was all that the Inquisition required. In one case a child of ten years was allowed to give evidence against his father, his mother, and sixty-six other persons whom he named as having been present a year previously, when a certain sermon had been delivered. The unusual knowledge and remarkable memory thus exhibited by a mere child, were regarded as specially damning for the accused. The prisoner might produce evidence on his own side,—not to deny heresy, for no evidence could prove a negative,—but to show personal hostility

on the part of the witnesses against him. This concession was made useless to him by the rule that he was not to be told their names, lest they should be prevented from speaking the truth by fear of the prisoner's vengeance. If the prisoner failed to guess the names of these witnesses, their integrity was proved, for every man must know who are his enemies. If, in the other alternative, he did guess their names, then his knowledge that there were possible accusers was regarded as strengthening the accusation. In any event, the evidence itself was not revealed to him, because that might give him a clue to the names of the witnesses who had adduced it, and thus enable him to prevent, by terrorisation, the truth from being stated. The names of the witnesses and the nature of their evidence being both concealed from him, the only defence permitted was the proof of personal bias on the part of unknown persons—a manifest impossibility. The trial was, in fact, a farce. Whenever so desired, the accused was convicted. So notorious was this that a plain-spoken Franciscan declared that the Holy Apostles themselves, SS. Peter and Paul, would inevitably have been convicted of heresy by the officials of the Holy Office.

It was not until the trial and conviction were over that the Inquisitors began to take an interest in the case. The object of all the proceedings was to extort a confession. If, after conviction, the prisoner refused to confess, torture was applied. If he then confessed, some fine legal problems remained to be solved. Confession produced by torture the morbid conscience of the Church could not accept. It could only be regarded as an involuntary spasm, which we should now call 'reflex action,' similar to the closing of the eyelids from fear of an expected blow. Confession had to be voluntary. From the prisoner's standpoint this

refinement had the merit of stopping the torture for the time. The object in applying torture was to compel his serious attention, and to bring him into a frame of mind from which a voluntary confession would naturally flow. Some of the more unfortunate prisoners, unable to appreciate the legal subtleties of the tribunal, went from confession to confession and from torture to torture. It was as easy to prove recantation as the original heresy. Any evidence would do, and no defence could avail.

But perhaps the worst feature of the Inquisition was the introduction of a new crime, suspicion of heresy. To be suspected—rightly or wrongly was immaterial, nor did it signify by whom—was in itself a crime. This culmination of judicial iniquity has found its way into the legal process of every country in which the Inquisition ever held sway. England alone has escaped. The Inquisition never found a home in the British Isles. The use of torture and of perjury was greatly extended in England by the ferocious example of the Inquisition; but its other leading features—the adoption by the judge of the position of prosecutor, the secrecy of evidence, the refusal of favourable evidence, the establishment of mere suspicion from any quarter as itself a crime—these principles, which make a parody of justice, never took root in England. As a recent celebrated case has shown, they have not yet been entirely eliminated from the tribunals of Europe.

The Middle of the Middle Age was afflicted with many extraordinary superstitions and manias, of which the flagellants may be taken as the type. In 1260 the whole of Europe seemed to be suddenly struck with remorse for the wickedness of the time. The practice of self-flagellation, common enough in monasteries, had been greatly extended by the precept and example of St. Peter Damiani in the eleventh century. It

had acquired a stated value among works of penance. 'By a fantastic arithmetic,' says Gibbon, 'a year of penance was taxed at three thousand lashes; and such was the skill and patience of a famous hermit, St. Dominic of the iron cuirass' (Loricatus), 'that in six days he could discharge an entire century by a whipping of 300,000 stripes. His example was followed by many penitents of both sexes; and as a vicarious sacrifice was accepted, a sturdy disciplinarian might expiate on his own back the sins of his benefactors.' The flagellators marched two and two in solemn procession through the towns, stripped naked to the waist, their heads entirely covered by a hood which had two orifices for the eyes; singing doleful hymns of penitence, such as 'Stabat Mater,' they scourged themselves in unison. This continued at night by the light of torches, and throughout the cold of winter. The inhabitants of a town, stopping all business, would walk out *en masse* to the next town, beating themselves in rhythm all the way; and thus the frenzy was passed on. Even Rome, so little addicted to penitential discipline, was touched by the contagion. The dress of the flagellants has been retained by the confraternities of mercy which are so familiar in Italy.

Meanwhile the struggle between Pope and Emperor, so dramatically begun by Gregory VII. and Henry IV., was steadily continued, and remained throughout the Middle of the Middle Age the dominant political fact of European history. Every nation was drawn into it. The great question which puzzled and upset the mediæval world was this: How far should the spirit rule the body? What should be the relations between Church and State? Can religious and political matters be separated? The answer has not yet been found. In the time of Augustus the State was supreme; under Innocent III. the Church was paramount; and now

the State, in Italy, is once more in the ascendant. But it is obvious that the conflict is not at an end.

The Papal-Imperial conflict of the Middle of the Middle Age ended in the complete triumph of the Pope. After the discomfiture of Henry IV. by Gregory VII. came the duel between the English Pope, Adrian IV. (Nicholas Breakspear), and the most powerful of the Germans, Frederic Barbarossa. Italy was rent by the long and weary wars between Guelphs and Ghibellines. Barbarossa, not content with defying the Church, attempted to tyrannise over the Italian free towns. Rome and the Lombard cities took the part of the Pope, with the result that, by the Peace of Constance, in 1183, the emperor was obliged to concede a large extension of independence.

The career of Barbarossa's grandson, Frederic II., an able and enlightened prince (in whom some historians have seen a herald of the Renaissance), was ruined by Papal opposition. Learned himself—he spoke German, Italian, Latin, Greek and Hebrew—he founded the University of Naples, and did all that was possible in that illiterate age to spread a desire for knowledge. He gave his people mild and good laws, emancipated all serfs on the royal domain, abolished trials by battle and ordeal, and established free trade. It was his fate to be five times excommunicated, and to die at open war with the Pope. His son, Conrad, did not long survive him, and the hopes of the Empire rested upon Frederic's grandson, Conradin, a youth of sixteen.

In 1268 Conradin marched upon Rome, where he was received with delight by the Romans, who had driven out the Pope, Urban IV. But the boy's triumph was short. Urban appealed to Charles of Anjou for assistance, and in the battle of Tagliacco Conradin was totally defeated; and subsequently captured. On being consulted by Charles as to the fate of the prisoner,

Urban replied, 'Vita Conradini, mors Caroli; mors Conradini, vita Caroli.' The last of the Hohenstaufens was thereupon executed at Naples in 1268. Foreign kings continued for two centuries to come to Rome for coronation as emperor, the last ceremony of the kind being performed by the Pope in favour of Frederic III. in 1452; and the Holy Roman Empire survived in name until its abolition by Napoleon in 1806. But with the execution of Conradin its practical power and significance disappeared for ever.

The next act in the drama was the fall of the Mediæval Papacy. The Pope had called in Angevin influence, and soon had himself to submit to French control.

The Pragmatic Sanction of St. Louis IX. limited the powers of the Roman Pontiff in France as regards the elections of the clergy and ecclesiastical taxation, an edict to which Clement IV., a French Pope, could offer no resistance. Then came the 'Sicilian Vespers,' a general massacre of the French, which lost Sicily to Charles and to the Guelph or Papal cause. In 1292 the fall of Acre ended the benefit derived by the Papacy from the Crusades. But worse was to follow.

On the death of Nicholas IV., in April 1292, the Conclave, divided by the hostility of the Orsini and Colonna, could not agree upon a successor. In June the hot weather drove the cardinals out of Rome; they dispersed, not to meet again till the lapse of more than a year, and then at Perugia. There for eight months they continued in hopeless disagreement, any name supported by an Orsini being, *ipso facto*, opposed by the Colonna. At last, in desperation, weary of the conflict, the name of one Peter Morrone, a hermit, was brought forward. Nothing was known of him beyond the fact that he lived in a remote cave in the

Abruzzi Mountains, where his ascetic practices had gained for him some local reputation among the peasants. He, at least, had no enmity to any of the cardinals. He was elected by acclamation.

S. GIORGIO IN VELABRO

The ambassadors of the Conclave, dressed in their gorgeous costumes, toiled up the rough mountain, with difficulty procuring a guide to direct them to the cave of the Pope. Peering into the darkness, there they saw an old man, with long, grey beard, eyelids swollen with perpetual weeping, in a recess so small that he could neither stand upright nor lie down; and they

fell on their knees before him, hoping that he should deign to look upon one of them with favour. But the Pope's eyes were dim. He could ill discern the splendid figures before him, and for long refused to credit the tale they told him. When at last the awful truth broke upon him, he begged, with tears, to be let alone, to be allowed to live and die in the home which he knew so well. It is the traditional Papal custom to be overwhelmed at the disparity of the honour conferred by election, and the unworthiness of the recipient. Peter Morrone did not require any histrionic talent. He wept as if his heart would break. But his visitors were inexorable. There was no hope of escape. He was carried off to Aquila, where the ceremony of inauguration was greeted with immense enthusiasm by the populace, who felt that at last they had a real saint in the position which none but a saint should fill. But the holiness and humility of Celestine I. were not fitted for the Papacy. He appointed his hermit friends to the chief places in the Church, and made many new cardinals, not one of whom was a Roman. At Naples, the season of Advent drawing nigh, Celestine had a cell made in the king's palace, whence he could not see the sky, and there he once more indulged in the luxuries of solitude, starvation, weeping, and other austerities. He longed to abdicate, and at length was permitted to do so; earning by that act the contempt of Dante, who placed him in the worst circle of hell for the cowardice of his 'great refusal' (*il gran rifiuto*—'Inferno,' III. 60).

The Conclave proceeded to the election of a man whose character was a striking contrast to that of the poor hermit. Boniface VIII. was as proud, aggressive and violent as Celestine had been humble, meek and gentle. One of his first acts was to cast his prede-

cessor into prison, where was soon ended that singularly unfortunate life.

The inauguration of Boniface at Rome was a spectacle of unusual splendour. He rode a fine white horse, gorgeously accoutred, the King of Naples holding the bridle on one side, the King of Hungary on the other. The great nobles of Rome—Orsini, Colonna, Savelli, Stefaneschi, Anibaldi—followed in the procession to St. Peter's, and back to the Lateran Palace. The haughty Pontiff surveyed Christendom with the eye of a master.

But events were to prove that the Church made a mistake in exchanging the pious, though incompetent, hermit for this arrogant tyrant. As a result of the overbearing attitude of Boniface, a quarrel arose between him and the equally haughty Colonna family. The Colonna proceeded to announce that inasmuch as a Pope is incapable of abdicating, the election of Boniface during the life of Celestine was illegal, and all his acts as Pontiff void. Boniface replied by preaching a crusade against the Colonna. The Papal forces attacked and captured the Colonna fortress of Palestrina. The town was razed to the ground, the plough was dug through its streets, and salt was sown in the furrows. The Colonna cardinals were deposed, and the family reduced to beggary by the confiscation of the whole of their property.

Successful so far, Boniface now issued the Bull, 'De Clericis Laos,' aimed at Edward I. of England and Philip IV. of France, in which he declared all Church property to be free from taxation by the temporal power. Philip retaliated by expelling the Papal legate from France; to which Boniface answered by excommunication. But that weapon was powerless against a popular monarch, and the French nation took the part of their king. An alliance was

made between the Colonna and the French. In September 1303, the Pope, with his court, was at Anagni, his birthplace and summer residence. There he was unexpectedly attacked by a body of men, under the command of William of Nogaret, carrying the banner of the French king, and Sciarra Colonna. The Cardinals fled. The Pope was left to face his opponents alone, which he did with courage and dignity.

Dressed in the pontifical robes, the tiara on his head, the keys of St. Peter in one hand, the crozier in the other, he took his seat upon the Papal throne, and, like the Roman senators of old, awaited the approach of the Gaul. Sciarra Colonna was with difficulty prevented from avenging the wrongs of his house upon the body of the old man. The Pope was ordered to abdicate, upon pain of death. 'Behold my neck, behold my head,' was the calm reply. He was shackled in irons, whilst his palace was completely looted of its vast wealth. Though afterwards rescued by the people of Anagni, the Pope, on his appearance in Rome, was seized by Cardinal Orsini and put in prison, where he soon died of passion and shame. The well-known epitaph on Boniface VIII. runs :—

'Vulpes intravit, tanquam leo pontificavit, exiit ut canis.' ('He got in like a fox, played the pontiff like a lion, went out like a dog.')

After his death French influence raised a Frenchman to the Papal chair, as Clement V. This Pope was crowned at Lyons and then settled at Avignon, where he was a mere tool in the hands of the French king. Thus ended the Mediæval Papacy, soon after its triumph over the Empire. What Gregory VII. had begun, and Innocent III. had completed, Boniface VIII. destroyed.

The Middle of the Middle Age had as distinguish-

ing characters the Crusades, the Mendicant Friars, the Inquisition, the Flagellants; and finally, the long struggle, in which every country of Europe was implicated, between Church and State, Pope and Emperor. All these movements had one centre—Rome; and one source—Religion. Not one of them could have occurred but for the existence at Rome, through the combined merits of Julius Cæsar and St. Peter, of the Vicar of Christ. The goddess Roma was the star of the mediæval stage. To appreciate the play we must have on the boards Crusaders, Mendicants, and Emperors as well as Popes.

But though Rome was the source of Mediævalism, she was never herself infected with the mediæval spirit. The Romans wished to be senators, not knights, nor monks. They had neither chivalry nor piety; nor was the Feudal System ever influential in Rome. The Crusades, which turned the stream of pilgrims towards Jerusalem, were a source of loss to Rome. The Church, by stifling all secular growth, hindered the rise of chivalry, and prevented the formation of a feudal society. On the other hand, it failed to impress the Romans. It is a Roman saying that the nearer the altar the less is the devotion. The Romans were irreligious and irreverent; they mocked at the precepts of the Church, and defied the Papal authority. Their nobles were a rude, illiterate race, who lived in such remnants of the monuments of antiquity as were capable of conversion into fortresses. From these castles and towers, which covered the whole surface of the city, they emerged occasionally to make war upon each other, or to kill or rob a pope, or bishop, or any other wayfarer. The chief families—Pierleoni, Savelli, Frangipani, Scotti, Conti, Orsini, Colonna, Corsi, Massimi, Cencii, Crescencii, Cappocci, Cafarelli—when not at war with each other, were united in a common opposition

to all authority, whether of Pope, of Emperor or of Senator.

The Savelli owned the theatre of Marcellus and the temple of Libertas on the Aventine. The Frangipani had a large central fortress on the Palatine, with outlying forts on the Colosseum, the Arches of Constantine and Titus, and the Janus of the Forum Boarium. The Colonna had possession of the mausoleum of Augustus; the Crescenzi the baths of Severus Alexander; and the Orsini the theatre of Pompey.

But though Rome was never truly mediæval, though she was neither chivalrous nor saintly, though the emperor's coronation always ended in a battle, and many a pope had to save his life by flight, yet it is at Rome that the age which lies between the classic and the modern may best be studied, for Rome alone has remains of all these periods. Look, for instance, at the mediæval towers, the Torre delle Milizie and the Torre dei Conti. Note their immense solidity, the pitiable little slits through which all light and air had to enter, the aspect of hostile suspicion and gloomy isolation. Then turn to the Pagan ruins on the Palatine or elsewhere. Observe the large and generous openings, the modern look of frankness, of courage, of intelligent satisfaction. In these various buildings the history of civilisation is revealed. The essential modernity of the Pagan ruins, the old-fashioned aspect of the mediæval—the Pagan and modern joy in light and air, the mediæval fear and hatred—are nowhere visible save at Rome.

CHAPTER VII

Roman Revolutions

Roma vorax hominum, domat ardua colla virorum,
Roma ferax febrium, necis est uberrima frugum,
Romanæ febres stabili sunt jure fideles.

St. Peter Damiani.

NO city has such a tale of civil war as Rome. As many as 150 revolutions are said to have occurred within her walls. Throughout the Middle Age the Romans never ceased to dream of their former world-wide empire, to chafe at their subjection, and to rise in revolt against pope, emperor or barons. George Sand well said that the famous Republican leaders, Alberic, Crescentius, Arnold, Rienzi, Tiburzio, Porcaro, mistook memories for hopes ('ont pris les souvenirs pour les espérances'). The great traditions of Rome were the cause of her servitude. The Papacy and the Empire grew and thrived on the prestige of Rome. From Rome they ruled the world; while the city herself was deprived, by their presence, of her independence. While other Italian towns flourished as free Republics, unhappy Rome was crushed under the weight of her former greatness.

The revolution connected with the name of the Italian monk, Arnold of Brescia, in the middle of the twelfth century, introduces the only Englishman who rose to the Papal chair—Nicholas Breakspear, Adrian IV.; the red-bearded Hohenstaufen, Frederic Barbarossa; the French monk St Bernard; and the French pro-

fessor, afterwards a monk, Abelard—the lover of the beautiful and talented Héloise.

Abelard was one of the first of the disputants who attempted, by philosophy and dialectical skill, to expose the falsity of the dogmas of the Church. He met his match in St. Bernard, who also made himself a master of controversial methods, and laid the foundations of that gigantic bulwark of scholastic theology which surrounds the Catholic doctrine.

The story of Abelard and Héloise, of her disinterested devotion, of his retirement to a monastery, hers to a nunnery, of the passionate letters which she wrote to him, cannot here be related. On his death, in 1142, Abelard was buried in the monastery of the Paraclete, where for twenty-one years longer Héloise, the abbess, mourned for him. Then she was buried at his side. The two bodies were removed to the cemetery of Père la Chaise in Paris, in 1817.

The intellectual freedom taught by Abelard found in his pupil, Arnold of Brescia, a practical champion. Arnold declaimed against the temporal power of the Church, to which he attributed the worldly avarice of the clergy, whose nets were used to catch gold and silver, but not souls. He also denounced the power of emperor or king, declaring that the people themselves formed the only rightful temporal sovereign. St. Bernard supported Arnold in so far as he desired reform of the Church and abolition of the corrupting influences of the temporal power; but denounced him as a heretic for his opposition to the Pope and the Hierarchy. At a Lateran Council in 1139 a decree of banishment was pronounced against Arnold.

In 1143, in his enforced absence, the Romans revolted against the Pope and restored the ancient forms

of the Republic on the Capitol, the equestrian order, tribunes and senate. They made Jordan Pierleone head of the civic government with the title of Patricius. They declared the temporal power of the Pope to be at an end, and destroyed the forts and palaces of the cardinals, bishops and Papal nobles. The Frangipani, and other nobles, joined hands with the Pope, Lucius II., who personally led them in an attack upon the Capitol. The quarrel being now one between aristocracy and democracy, the Roman plebeians on the Capitol defended themselves with the courage of their ancestors. The Pope, as he led his party up the hill, was struck by a stone and killed, and the attack was repulsed. The new Pope, Eugenius III., fled to France. Arnold then returned to Rome, where he continued to rouse the inferior clergy against their superiors, and to strengthen the democratic spirit.

When the Englishman became Pope, as Adrian IV., 1154, he demanded the expulsion of Arnold from Rome. The Romans refused, and Adrian found himself a prisoner in the Leonine city. The power of excommunication was his only weapon. He made the fullest use of it. He placed Rome itself under the interdict. All religious ceremonies ceased; no mass was read; the churches were closed; the only sacraments celebrated were those for the baptism of infants, and extreme unction to the dying; the dead were refused burial in consecrated ground. In those days every important act was done after consultation with the priest, just as in Pagan times the gods or oracles were always consulted in serious matters. But an interdict cut off all intercourse between man and God, leaving the world to the unrestrained power of the devil. The Romans gave in. They expelled Arnold and abandoned their Republic.

Triumphant in Rome, Adrian had still to deal with

Frederic Barbarossa, who was on his way to Rome for his coronation as emperor. He left Rome to meet the arrogant young prince. When the Pope had approached, on horseback, the royal tent, he waited in vain for the appearance of Barbarossa to perform the usual ceremony of holding the Papal stirrup as the Pontiff alighted. At this deliberate affront the cardinals fled in panic—leaving Adrian to get off his horse without assistance. Barbarossa then came forth and cast himself at Adrian's feet, but the Pope refused him the kiss of peace. In the end, victory lay with Adrian. Barbarossa had come to be crowned emperor by the Pope, and he held the Pope's stirrup in order to accomplish that purpose. In return for the Imperial crown, Adrian also demanded that the heretic and rebel Arnold should be delivered over to him, a condition to which Frederic readily agreed. The doctrines of Arnold were equally obnoxious to king and to Pope. Arnold was captured by Frederic, and executed by order of the Pope. So popular was he in Rome that the Pope ordered his body to be burnt and the ashes to be thrown into the Tiber, that the populace might not worship the remains.

Abelard and Arnold were in front of their age. Abelard was the intellectual pioneer, the precursor of Locke and Kant. Arnold was the forerunner of Mazzini. He was the first to arouse opposition to the secular character of the clergy. In 1862, seven hundred years after his death, election placards in Italy carried the words, 'Viva il Papa non Re! Viva Arnaldo da Brescia! Viva il Clero Liberale!'

The meeting between Barbarossa and the envoys sent from Rome to greet him, well illustrates the longing of the Romans for a return of their former consideration. They addressed the emperor in bom-

bastic terms :—'We, ambassadors of the city, not insignificant men of Rome, are sent by the Roman Senate and people to thy Excellency. Benevolently hear what the illustrious mistress of the world, whose sovereign thou wilt soon be, offers thee. Thou desirest the empire of the world, and I (Rome) gladly rise to hasten forward with the crown. Thou wast my guest; I have now made thee a citizen. What was mine by right I have given thee. Thou art, therefore, pledged first of all to uphold my good customs and to swear to the laws, ratified by thy predecessors, so that they may not be injured by the fury of the barbarian. Thou shalt pay £5000 to my officials, whose duty it is to proclaim thee on the Capitol; thou shalt avert every injury from the Republic at the cost of thy blood, and thou shalt confirm this by oath and documents.' To this pompous oration the great Hohenstaufen replied: —'I have heard much of the valour, still more of the sagacity of the Romans. I am therefore surprised that your speech should be inflated by such foolish arrogance and be so destitute of all reason. Thou holdest up before me the nobility of thy ancient city. I grant it; and with thy historian I say that virtue once dwelt in this Republic. Rome has experienced the change of things under the moon; or has perchance this city alone been able to escape the law of all earthly things? Wilt thou know where the ancient glory of thy Rome has gone? Look at my Teutonic nobles, my banded chivalry. These are the patricians, these are the true Romans; this is the Senate invested in perpetual authority. Thou demandest a sworn promise to pay money. Is Rome not ashamed to traffic with her emperor as with a usurer? The great repay as a favour only that which has been merited. To what laws do you presume to appeal but those which I shall be pleased to enact? Your only liberty is to render

allegiance to your sovereign. My entrance shall be a festival for the city; but to those who unjustly demand what is unjust, I will justly refuse all.'

The crestfallen Romans retired, full of humiliation and resentment. The coronation of Barbarossa by Adrian in St. Peter's, was watched in gloomy defiance. The emperor had not recognised the Roman constitution; he had rejected their offered votes; he had refused the customary payment. When the ceremony was over, the newly-crowned emperor, on his way to his camp under Monte Mario, was accompanied as far as the Bridge of St. Angelo by the Pope, who then crossed the river and proceeded to his palace at the Lateran. Then occurred the usual coronation battle. The Romans were the aggressors. They attacked the emperor's escort, and were beaten off with much loss. But they refused to supply the German army with provisions, and Barbarossa was compelled to retire from Rome. Very few of the mediæval emperors were permitted by jealous Rome to cross the river and enter the city.

Adrian IV. died in 1159. He had failed to subdue the Roman Republic; and Frederic Barbarossa, the greatest monarch since Charlemagne, had become his enemy. On his death-bed he inveighed against the misfortunes of his lot. 'Oh, that I had never left my native land, England, or the convent of St. Rufus. Is there elsewhere in the world a man so miserable as the Pope? I have found so much hardship on the Papal throne that all the bitterness of my past life seems sweet in comparison. Truly it is with justice that the Pope is called the servant of the servants. He is enslaved by the rapacity of the servile souls of the Romans, and, does he fail to satisfy them, he is forced to leave his throne and Rome as a fugitive.' His coffin lies in the crypt of the Vatican, in a rude,

inartistic sarcophagus of red granite, fitly enclosing the only English Pope, whose nature was as firm and strong as the granite itself.

A Papal schism followed the election of Adrian's successor, Alexander III. Barbarossa supported an anti-pope, and was thereupon excommunicated by Alexander. The reply of the emperor was to encamp with a large army before Rome. The Romans defended their Pope, as they had before defended Gregory VII. against the Emperor Henry IV. Barbarossa soon was master of the Leonine city, though his Germans had to fight every step of the way from the gates of St. Peter's up to the high altar, leaving the pavement covered with corpses, the walls and altars stained with blood. The Pope fled, but Rome still held out. Then the great Roman ally intervened with irresistible force. The German army was almost destroyed by an epidemic of malaria. In a few days two thousand knights and squires were dead, and the common soldiers in proportion. Barbarossa had no option but to break up his camp and retire hastily northwards. St. Thomas à Becket voiced the general belief in a visitation from Heaven, when he declared that the new Sennacherib had been smitten in his pride.

In 1190 the emperor was drowned while crossing a river in the Holy Land. Many legends are connected with the name of the German national hero. In an enchanted cave on the summit of the mountain Kyffhäuser he sits, his great red beard having grown through the stone table before him, waiting till the ravens cease hovering over the peak; then he will come forth with his knights to bring back to Germany the golden age of strength and unity.

In the middle of the thirteenth century the Romans,

as was their custom, drove their Pope, Innocent IV., out of the city. He had been absent nine years when the newly-appointed Senator, Brancaleone, summoned him to his capital, telling him roundly that 'it became not the pastor to abandon his flock; he was the bishop not of Lyons, of Perugia, of Anagni, but of Rome.' The Pope found it necessary to obey, and returned to Rome like a scolded child.

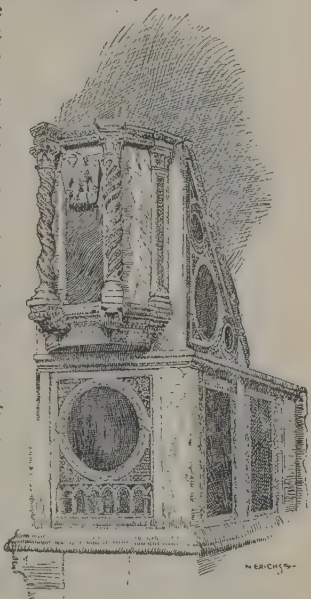
Brancaleone held the position as Senator, which in other Italian free towns went by the name of *podesta*, or chief magistrate. A custom had arisen in Italy for one town to invite a stranger from a friendly town to preside over the municipality for a period of six months. Impartial and good government was expected, and often obtained, from these officials, who were always men of position and distinction in the town which was willing to lend them, for a short time, to their fellow republics. Such an exchange of leading citizens gives evidence of Republican fraternity, and of a common national sentiment. Solemn deputations had frequently been seen in Rome, from even such great towns as Pisa and Florence, begging for the loan of an impartial and able magistrate. Rome had never gone abroad for her Senator until, in 1252, the corrupt state of the Republic, the violence and tyranny of the nobles, and the implacable feud between Colonna and Orsini, led the democratic leaders of the people to seek a Senator from outside their own walls. They applied to Bologna, then famous for its school of law, and the Bolognese sent them Brancaleone degli Andalo, Count of Casalecchio, a man learned in the law, of good birth, of severe Republican spirit, and rich enough to be unbribable. Gregorovius tells us that when Prince Edward, afterwards King Edward I. of England, visited Bologna, Brancaleone sent him a hundred carriages laden with gifts, so that the young prince

declared England itself was not so rich as Brancaleone.

Before agreeing to take up his new duties, Brancaleone showed his knowledge of the condition of affairs in Rome, by demanding that he should have the government for three years, instead of the usual six months; and that the sons of thirty Roman nobles should be sent to Bologna as hostages for his personal security. These extraordinary conditions being, after some hesitation, agreed to, the Senator journeyed to Rome, where he was received with great honour, and led in procession to the Capitol, amid the plaudits of the delighted people, and the frowns of clergy and nobility. The salary of the Senator was 1500 gold florins for the six months, paid as to one third on taking up his office, another third at the commencement of his third month, and the last third after the close of the term, provided his conduct had given satisfaction. Out of this money the Senator had to pay for his own court, or *familia*, consisting of a guard and other officials brought with him from abroad. He was both chief justice and commander-in-chief, with power of life and death. But he was jealously watched in all his movements, and his personal freedom greatly curtailed. He could not leave the Capitol, except on stated occasions; was debarred from the society of wife or child; and was cut off from all social intercourse with the citizens. He was a splendid prisoner.

Where important matters had to be settled, the Senator, by his herald, summoned the Romans to a parliament, while the bell of the Capitol was tolled. The people assembled in front of the palace of the Senator, in what is now called the Piazza del Campidoglio, their numbers on some occasions covering the steps and extending to the Piazza Ara Cœli at their base. They voted on the great questions of the time

—whether war, or an alliance, was to be made with neighbouring communes,—how the emperor was to be received,—whether the return of the absent Pope was to be peremptorily demanded. Lesser matters were discussed in the Basilica of Ara Cœli by the representatives of the thirteen regions. Here Colonna and Orsini, Frangipani and Pierleoni, Savelli and Capocci, Conti and Anibaldi, met in fierce debate, while the solitary prisoner from Bologna presided over their meetings, and occasionally ordered one or other of them to be clapped into prison or hung.



AMBO IN THE ARA CŒLI

Brancaleone made full use of his powers. He took up the cause of the people against the Pope and the nobility, and dealt out justice with fearless impartiality. He began, as we have said, by accusing Innocent IV. of 'wandering like a vagabond, now here now there, deserting Rome, the seat of the Apostle,' and compelling him to return meekly to his flock. He stopped the brawling and violence of the nobles, hitherto accus-

tomed to use their towers as fortresses whence they might issue forth to kill any passer-by, or to lay regular siege to the tower of a rival. By imprisonment and hanging, unsparingly administered, Brancaleone made the streets of Rome secure. During his three years of power Rome was entirely independent of both Pope and emperor, and became a respected free state; and the people loved their foreign Senator. But when the three years were over he was seized by the nobles, and would have lost his life but for the hostages which his forethought had obtained, now secure in the hands of the Bolognese. The Pope demanded the restoration of the hostages. Bologna refused. The Pope passed upon Bologna the fearful sentence of interdict. Still the Bolognese, cut off as they were from all hope of spiritual salvation, helplessly exposed to the machinations of the devil, defied both Pope and hell. The hostages were kept under strict lock and key, and Brancaleone lived. In the end the nobles had to set him free.

Rome relapsed into her former condition of civil war and disorder. The people rose in revolt, they attacked the Capitol, killed one of the Anibaldi, and captured several towers, amongst them the Tor de' Conti, which may still be seen off the Via Cavour. Petrarch speaks of it as 'Turris illa toto urbe unica quae comitum dicebatur.' The nobles were obliged to agree to the return of Brancaleone for a further period of three years. His journey to Rome was not without danger, the Pope having placed hired assassins in ambush for him on the road, whom he was fortunate in escaping. This time the great Senator entirely crushed the Papal nobility. He hanged relatives of the Pope himself, and imprisoned or banished many of the members of noble families. The Pope fled to Viterbo, whence he launched a bull of excommunication, which

was harmless against the popular idol. The Romans retaliated by marching upon Anagni, the home of the Pope, and they threatened to raze it to the ground. Alexander IV. was obliged to beg for mercy, and to resign all pretence of civil power in the city. Brancaleone then ruthlessly attacked the root of the troubles of Rome. He caused 140 of the towers of the nobility to be entirely destroyed. Gregorovius estimates that there were probably at least 300 of such towers in existence, besides 300 attached to the city walls, and 300 campanili.

Brancaleone did not complete his second term. He died of fever in Rome in 1258. The people honoured his memory in a sincere though curious manner. They placed his head in a costly vase, on the top of a marble column, on the Capitol.

The period between the Papal move to Avignon in 1309, and the end of the great schism, by the election of Martin V. in 1417, was a time of grave danger to the Papacy, and of uncontrolled disorder at Rome. The city, in the absence of the Pope, or in the presence of a Papal schism, was a prey to Anarchy. At intervals a central authority would be established, whose appearance would be marked by an epidemic of executions. But in the general *mêlée* the standard-bearer would be cut down, and then every man's sword was once more free to be turned against his neighbour.

Henry VII. came to be crowned at Rome in 1312. He had to fight his way through the streets. The Capitol was taken, but his Germans were defeated, after many on both sides had been slain, in a street battle, in which barricades and towers played a prominent part. Henry was obliged to beg the Romans, of their own free will, to crown him. They agreed, and appointed Sciarra Colonna to perform the ceremony. The fierce noble, who twenty-five years before had

pointed his sword at the breast of a pope, now took the place of the Pope as a dispenser of the Imperial crown, placing it with his own hand upon the German king's head. Well had he avenged the wrongs of his house.

Rome felt the absence of the Pope as an ever-increasing misfortune. Gregorovius tells us that, 'In poverty and obscurity she withered away, a rubbish-heap of history, while the Pope accumulated gold and treasures in distant Avignon. The savage feuds of the nobles, quarrelling for the shreds of the senatorial mantle, raged day and night above the dust and ruins. The hostile houses of Colonna and Orsini severed Rome as the Guelphs and Ghibellines severed other cities. One could not overpower the other.' . . . 'No means sufficed to reconcile the hatred of the hostile factions in Rome. Family fought against family, the populace against the nobility, the plebeians among themselves. A truce was occasionally agreed upon; then all sides rushed again to arms. Vain were the exhortations of Benedict XII., the Pope at Avignon. The factions entrenched themselves in Rome, where they barred one entrance after another. Stephen Colonna held four bridges; the remainder were occupied by Jacopo Savelli and his followers. On September 3, 1335, the Orsini destroyed Ponte Molle.' The distant Pope tried to tranquillise the city by appointing two of the chief rivals, an Orsini and a Colonna, as Senators. But the Romans attacked and captured the Capitol, expelled one Senator and imprisoned the other, and then sought their salvation in the importation of two Florentines. The Pope protested against the employment of men who were not his adherents, and superseded them by his nominees. The Romans drove the latter away, and no peace came to the miserable city.

A brief gleam of sunshine lighted Rome when (in 1341) a festival was held on the Capitol for the coronation of Petrarch as Poet Laureate. After reciting an address, the poet was crowned by the Senator, amid the applause of the Romans, who shouted, 'Long life to the poet, and to the Capitol.' The memory of her great past brought to Rome the foremost literary man of the age, there to receive the patronage of the miserable beggars and cut-throats who lingered among her ruins. A strange scene.

On one, at least, of the spectators it made a deep impression. Unobserved among the crowd was a young man of singular personal beauty, Nicola, son of Lorenzo Gabrini, to us known as Rienzi, in his own day Cola di Rienzo. His father was an innkeeper, his mother a washerwoman, his profession that of a notary. Unlike his barbarous fellow-citizens, who knew nothing of Roman history, Rienzi had read of the great days of the ruler of the world in Livy, Seneca and Cicero. And as he saw the chief representative of European literature crowned in the city which had honoured Horace and Virgil, as he watched the vulgar bandits going through the ancient ceremonies, he longed for a restoration to Rome of some of her former greatness. Perhaps he had read the *De Monarchia*, and had followed Dante's argument as to the necessity of a central, universal monarchy with Rome for its capital. Standing before the inscriptions on the marble slabs which lay about the city, he eagerly explained their meaning to any who would hear him, and spoke of the great traditions of the deserted capital. 'Where are those good old Romans?' he would say. 'Where is their lofty rectitude? Would that I could transport myself back to the times when these men flourished!'

Though regarded as a visionary, even a lunatic, Rienzi acquired fame as a speaker, and was sent as envoy to

Clement VI. at Avignon, to beg him to re-visit Rome and to declare a Jubilee for the year 1350. The Pope was pleased with his eloquence, and, while not able to visit Rome, agreed to make the Jubilee a celebration every fifty years. Rienzi was greatly encouraged, and endeavoured, by speeches and symbolical pictures, to kindle the enthusiasm of the Romans. He discovered in the Lateran the bronze tablet inscribed with part of the Lex Regia, by which the Imperial power was conferred on Vespasian. He had it built into the wall behind the choir of the Lateran basilica, and round it a painting made of the Senate making Vespasian Emperor. He invited nobles and people to listen to a discourse on the subject, which he delivered from a prepared tribune, wearing a white toga and white hat. 'Illustrious Rome,' he began, 'lies in the dust. She cannot even see her fall, since both her eyes—the emperor and the Pope—have been torn from her. Romans, behold how great was the splendour of the Senate, which invested the Imperium with authority in former days.' Then he read and explained the inscription to his listeners.

One day a great picture was seen painted on the wall of the church of S. Angelo in Pescheria, in which the sad condition and future greatness of Rome were allegorically presented by a burning woman, an angel, doves, and so on. Then on the wall of S. Giorgio in Velabro appeared an inscription prophesying the resurrection of Rome.

While Rienzi's opinions were approved, people were astonished at his taking the trouble to enunciate them. A revival of Roman glory seemed beyond all reasonable expectations.

The subsequent errors of the young enthusiast arose in part from his hatred of the nobles. His younger brother had been murdered in the street, and Rienzi's

efforts to obtain the punishment of the murderer had been received with the sneers of the barons, who taunted him with his lowly birth. John Colonna invited him to meet a company of the nobility at dinner, ostensibly in order to hear about his projects, but really to amuse his guests. Rienzi was stung by their superior airs, and mocking laughter. He greatly tickled the nobles with his angry defiance, as, pointing from one to the other, he promised to hang some, and have others beheaded, when he came to be their ruler.

The Jubilee of 1350, from which both Rome and the Pope expected to obtain great profit, was approaching. The first Jubilee, or holy year, was announced by Boniface VIII. in 1300. He promised plenary indulgence to all who during the year should visit the basilicas of St. Peter and St. Paul. These indulgences had their origin in the early days of Christianity. The Roman spirit of centralisation, of subordination of the individual to the State, was as marked in the small association of Christians as in the great world of the Roman Empire. All sin against the Christian religion was regarded primarily as sin against the Christian community. The secret meetings of the sect being under the ban of the law, it was very necessary to enforce discipline, and to expel all half-hearted or suspicious members. Any sin against the Christian religion was followed by expulsion, unless the sinner satisfied the community of his regret. He had to convince the society of his sincerity by (1) public confession; (2) a voluntary peace-offering. Then only would the president lead the congregation in a common prayer to God for forgiveness and acceptance of the repentant culprit once more into the Christian fold. Gradually the priest came to act for the community. The Church then laid down the doctrine that there was earthly, and purgatorial, punishment for all sin. The

latter could not with certainty be avoided; but the Church, on confession and the receipt of an offering in proof of penitence, agreed to intercede for the petitioner. For the sin against the Church, an indulgence, or forgiveness, was granted, in return for a money payment or other service. Urban II. granted plenary indulgence, a pardon for all sins against the Church, to all actual Crusaders; and this was afterwards extended to all who made a money payment for the advancement of the Crusades. When, by the fall of Acre in 1292, the Crusades came to an end, Boniface VIII. hit upon the plan of the Jubilee Year as a means of stimulating Christian enthusiasm, and assisting the Papal finances by the sale of indulgences.

It was an immense success. All Europe responded, in a general contagion of religious zeal. The roads in the remotest parts of Germany, Hungary, Britain, were crowded with pilgrims on the march to Rome. It was estimated that there was a traffic of 30,000 pilgrims in and out of the city daily, and that 2,000,000 had entered Rome in the year. The offerings were gathered in at the altars with long rakes, the copper coins alone giving a value of 50,000 gold florins.

It is difficult to exaggerate the importance of this event. From that time, jubilees and indulgences became the chief features in Papal policy. At first intended to inaugurate the commencement of each century, the jubilees were afterwards fixed at intervals of fifty, then thirty-three, and finally twenty-five years. Originally to be earned only by personal attendance in Rome, indulgences were extended to all who visited certain specified churches in other countries, until the pilgrimage came to hold a secondary position to the payment of money. The money so obtained was indispensable to the Pontiff. It was the sheet-anchor of

his finance. The manner in which it was collected hastened the Reformation.

Rienzi, the Roman people, and the Pope, were united in their desire for a successful Jubilee. But no pilgrims could be expected in Rome so long as the roads in the environs were infested with banditti, and the very streets of the city unsafe. Thus the effort of Rienzi to establish good government, though opposed by the noble robbers and malefactors, was warmly supported by Pope and people. With their approval, Rienzi, after hearing mass in the church of S. Angelo in Pescheria, marched at the head of a mob, accompanied by a Papal legate, to the Capitol, where he announced new laws for the good estate (*buono stato*).

He declared that henceforth every murderer would be executed; that all fortresses, bridges, and gates, would be taken out of the hands of the nobles, and confided to a representative of the people; that the barons would be compelled to keep the roads open, and to put down bandits; that widows and orphans and religious houses would be supported by the Government; and a granary established in each region. The people, who were assembled on the Capitol, responded to this announcement with shouts of applause; and Rienzi was named Tribune. He called himself 'Nicholas, by the grace of Jesus Christ, Severe and Merciful, the Tribune of Freedom, Peace and Justice, and the Liberator of the Holy Roman Republic.'

Old Stephen Colonna, on being summoned to Rome by the Tribune, answered: 'Tell the fool that if he troubles me with his insolence I will throw him from the windows of the Capitol.' But he had to come, and was forced to join the other nobles in swearing obedience to the Tribune, and to the laws of the Good Estate.

Rienzi caused many of the baronial towers to be

demolished, and succeeded in bringing back order and prosperity to Rome. But his insatiable vanity and self-indulgence ruined him. The sneers of the nobles at his lowly birth still rankled. The son of a washer-woman now announced that his father was no less a person than the Emperor Henry VII. Not content with his imperial ancestry, he determined to have himself knighted, with solemnities of special rarity and splendour. The popular festival of the 1st of August was at hand. On the previous evening, Rienzi, accompanied by all the chief civic and cleric officials of Rome, proceeded in state to the baptistery of the Lateran, and bathed in the basin of green basalt in which Constantine is said to have washed away both his Paganism and his leprosy. He slept in the baptistery, and next morning was invested with the girdle and gold spurs of a knight. An immense public banquet was given in the Lateran field, and the bronze horse of Marcus Aurelius poured wine from one nostril, water from the other. From this time Rienzi gave himself great titles—Candidate of the Holy Spirit, the Knight Nicholas, Friend of the World, Tribune Augustus, and so forth. On the 15th of August, the day of the Assumption of the Virgin, he was crowned with six wreaths made of oak, ivy, myrtle, laurel, olive—all taken from plants growing on the Arch of Constantine—and, finally, silver. He now declared that he was filled with the Holy Ghost, compared himself with Christ, and behaved in a most extravagant manner.

The festivals of the 1st and 15th August were to Rienzi what the feast of the Supreme Being was to Robespierre. They were the pinnacle from which a fall was inevitable.

Rienzi still felt that he had not sufficiently triumphed over the barons. Their sneers at John Colonna's dinner-party had not been fully paid back. He invited

all the chief nobles to a splendid banquet in the Capitol. While bandying courtesies with his illustrious guests, he tried in vain to overawe them with his grandeur and dignity. But he had a moment of sweet revenge in store. At the close of the meal every aristocrat present was arrested, and thrust into prison, on the charge of treasonous conspiracy against the popular government. They were condemned to death. The great bell of the Capitol tolled for their execution. They were brought to the scaffold in the Capitol; confessed; and were shriven. Stephen Colonna alone refused to confess, declaring, with true aristocratic arrogance, that no plebeian would have the courage to put him to death. Marvellous to relate, Rienzi did in fact tremble before the proud old noble. He preached a long sermon, concluding with a free pardon to all; and promoted some of these convicted traitors to the highest offices in the State. His conduct was universally regarded as an ignoble exhibition of vanity, spite and cowardice. His plebeian friends were ashamed, his aristocratic enemies infuriated.

The populace were of sterner stuff. In a battle outside the gate of S. Lorenzo on November 20, 1347, the barons were severely defeated, Stephen Colonna (son of the great Stephen), his son John, Peter Colonna, Jordan Orsini, and many others of the chief nobles being slain. So many were killed that the fall of the power of the nobility in Rome is reckoned from that date. Rienzi showed himself a coward during the fight, and behaved like a cad when his side had won. The Colonna widows brought their dead to be buried in the family chapel in Ara Cœli. Rienzi ordered them to be driven away. 'If these three accursed corpses irritate me further,' he said, 'I will have them thrown into the ditch of the hanged, to which as traitors they belong.' On the day after

the battle he took his son Lorenzo to the spot where Stephen Colonna had fallen, and baptized him with the noble's blood as 'Knight Lorenzo of the Victory.' He led his troops in triumph to the Capitol, where he crowned himself with a wreath of olive; then, wiping his bloodless sword upon his dress, he exclaimed, 'Thou hast struck the ear from a head which neither emperor nor Pope was able to cut off!'

The good government and the grand schemes of the Tribune had, in seven months, degenerated into tyranny and self-indulgence. The Romans began to dislike and to be ashamed of their leader. When the Pope issued a bull accusing Rienzi of the intention to restore the Empire in his own person, and threatened excommunication, Rienzi was abandoned by Rome. Totally incapable of assuming any determined or manly attitude, the Tribune alternately swore and prayed. On December 15, 1347, he abdicated; then, after a brief refuge in the Castle of St. Angelo, secretly fled the city.

His place was taken by the Black Death. The ravages of the plague in the middle of the fourteenth century filled Europe with superstitious terror. The world went mad with fear. Some, imitating the Pagan attitude towards the early Christians, attributed the calamity to the existence in the world of Jews, who were killed in large numbers; others joined the processions of flagellants which swarmed through the towns; others again, feeling the uncertainty of life, took to robbery and self-indulgence. In Rome, sparsely populated, the plague appears to have been comparatively moderate. A memento of its presence exists in the steps leading to the church of the Ara Cœli, built for the use of the pilgrims who came to worship an image of the Virgin, which the Romans regarded as their special protector from epi-

THE STEPS TO THE ARA CŒLI

demics. (The existing steps are restorations.) Possibly the violent earthquake which seriously injured many of the famous monuments, and drove the inhabitants out of their houses to live in tents, may have had a sanitary influence.

The condition of Rome was indeed so desperate that it could not have withstood any such blows as those dealt by the Black Death upon Florence. The power of the barons had been almost destroyed by the death of their leaders on the field of battle; the Tribune of the people had been driven out of the city; the Pope was permanently absent. The Jubilee of 1350 saved Rome. It was also the one hope of mankind. The world seemed to be passing through a time of nightmare, which made penitence, confession and absolution more than ever necessary. Matteo Villani says that 1,200,000 pilgrims arrived in Rome between Christmas and Easter, and 800,000 more at Whitsuntide. The number was undoubtedly very great. With them came Petrarch, who expressed the amazement and horror of all the pilgrims at the terrible condition of Rome. 'The houses are overthrown, the walls come to the ground, the temples fall, the sanctuaries perish, the laws are trodden under foot. The Lateran lies on the ground, and the Mother of all the churches stands without a roof and exposed to wind and rain. The holy dwellings of S. Peter and S. Paul totter, and what was lately the temple of the Apostles is a shapeless heap of ruins to excite pity in hearts of stone.' The riotous anarchy of Rome may be judged from the fate of the Jubilee Legates appointed by the Pope to dispense indulgences. One of them, Cardinal Guido, fled from Rome, terrified by the savage mob which had attacked the palace. The other, Cardinal Anibaldo, after receiving an arrow through his hat, never dared to appear in the streets without a helmet under his hat, and a

coat of mail under his habit. He was even driven to the extraordinary expedient of laying Rome under the interdict for eight days, during the holy year. He, and several members of his family, died in the month of July, of poison, it was said.

While Rome was given up to plague, murder and robbery, Rienzi was living among the hermits of the Fraticelli, in the mountains of the Abruzzi. As a tertiary of the Order, he wore the single coarse gown and cord, and lived on the rough, scanty fare. He remained doing penances among the anchorites for more than two years. Then a hermit, Fra Angelo by name, found him out, and explained that by Divine revelation he had learned that a holy man, chosen of God, was destined to reform the world, and that he, Rienzi, was that man. A parchment containing Merlin's prophecies clearly pointed to Rienzi, and in every way supported the hermit's tale. Rienzi did not hesitate. He left his solitude and went forth once more to reform the world; only to find himself, after much wandering, a prisoner at Avignon. His life was in danger, but Petrarch interceded for him. Clement VI. died, and the new Pope, Innocent VI., tried the experiment of sending Rienzi to Rome, to restore order under the Papal authority. The Romans received him with enthusiasm. But they found a great change in their former favourite. 'Formerly,' says Muratori, 'he was sober, temperate, abstemious; he had now become an inordinate drinker; he was always eating confectionery, and drinking. It was terrible to see him. It is said that in person he was of old quite meagre; he had become enormously fat, and jovial as an abbot.'

His personal appearance and habits had become revolting, and his government was now an unmitigated tyranny, compounded of unjust taxation, personal extravagance and capricious hanging. In two short

months the people were driven to revolt. They gathered on the Capitol, crying, 'Death to the tyrant,' and set fire to the palace (since replaced by the existing Palace of the Senator). Rienzi appeared on the balcony, dressed in his knightly armour, and tried to speak. But the people would not listen; they pelted him with stones, and one with an arrow pierced the Tribune's hand. He then determined to escape. He hastily cut off his beard, blackened his face, put on the clothes of a shepherd, and joined the crowd. But he was recognised by his gold bracelets, and surrounded by the hooting mob. He stood among them, unable to make himself heard, for more than an hour, close to the basalt lions which stood at the bottom of the palace steps—the spot at which he had first announced the Good Estate, and where afterwards many of his victims had been hanged. At last, during a slight lull in the groaning and hooting, his voice was heard commencing a speech. Fearful of its influence, the nearest man silenced it with a thrust of his pike. Then all turned to hacking at the corpse.

Rienzi's two governments lasted no more than nine months together. A few weeks of power made him a cruel, unjust and incompetent ruler, devoted chiefly to the indulgence of his passions and his vanity. But for the unique conditions, in time and place, of his environment, he would never have risen to a false and unhappy celebrity.

Arnold of Brescia has more of our respect. He was no boaster, no drunkard. His single-minded integrity, religious devotion, and clean life had earned for him the praise of his ascetic opponent, St. Bernard. While Rienzi aimed merely at the regeneration of Rome, Arnold worked for a reformation of society. He denounced the temporal Papacy, as did St. Bernard, for its effect in oppressing the State and degrading the Church, and hoped that by its overthrow

not only would Rome once more become important, but the true teaching of Christ would be renewed throughout Christendom. Arnold failed as completely as Rienzi. But his aims were far the larger; their advocacy had in it no self-seeking; and they have been successfully accomplished by a subsequent generation. Italy has made Rome, not Rome Italy. Arnold saw, what Rienzi did not see, that the claims of Rome were trivial compared with the claims of Italy, nay, of mankind; that it was not for her own sake, but for the advantage of Italy and the world, that Rome was to be the capital of the Peninsula.

Soon after the fall of Rienzi, the cessation of the war between England and France let loose upon society large numbers of professional soldiers, who went about in bands under some noted leader, and made a living out of war. Italy, where rival towns and nobles, Guelphs and Ghibellines, were always at feud, offered a great field for these adventurers. One of the most famous of them was an Englishman, Sir John Hawkwood, known to the Italians as 'Acuto,' in command of 'The White Company.' Accosted one day by two mendicant friars with the customary 'God give you peace,' Hawkwood rudely answered, 'God take away your alms.' The terrified friars protested they meant no harm. Hawkwood rejoined, 'Do you not know that I live by war? You are praying that God would make me die of hunger.' One of his first expeditions was directed against Avignon, which was in so defenceless a state that Innocent VI. was glad to buy him off, pointing, at the same time, to the vast plunder and the soldierless condition of Italy. Hawkwood took the hint, and had a long and triumphant career in Italy in the employ of the Visconti, of the Pope, and finally of the Republic of Florence. He married the daughter of Bernabo Visconti. On his death the Florentines

gave him a public funeral, and commemorated his services by an equestrian portrait in monochrome in the Duomo. Some of the noblest Roman houses contributed young aristocrats to the ranks of the condottieri, even the Colonna, Orsini and Savelli. Others—the Sforza, Braccio, Malatesta, etc.—owe their rise to the ability of a plebeian mercenary soldier.

Rome continued her appeal to the Pope to return to his capital. Petrarch and the saintly Catherine of Siena added their entreaties. It was evident that the Avignonese residence was ruining both Rome and the Papacy. Rome was losing trade and population, and had become a den of thieves. The Papacy had come in contact with the critical Western mind; while the idleness, luxuriance and vice of the court at Avignon still further estranged sympathy, and destroyed respect. Yet the French Popes would in all probability have continued to enjoy their ease in their beloved France, if it had not been for the revolt against the Papal authority, organised by Florence among the Italian cities. If Rome had joined the federation, it is probable that the whole of Italy would have been lost to the Pope. But Rome held back, and continued to urge upon the Pope the absolute necessity of his return, pointing out the probable consequences of a refusal. The very life of the Papacy was at stake. Rome, Petrarch and Catherine triumphed. Gregory XI. entered Rome; the Papacy was saved, not from Roman turbulence, for that at once recommenced, nor from schism, for the greatest of schisms immediately broke out, but from the fate in store at Avignon—from oblivion.

Gregory XI. left Avignon on September 13, 1376, Marseilles on October 2, and arrived at Ostia on January 14, 1377. Every step of the halting journey was attended with alarming omens, every advance made

in anxiety and fear. From Ostia he sailed up the Tiber, landing at St. Paul's, where he was met by the citizens; a procession was formed, and a triumphal march made into Rome on the 17th January 1377. Preceded by a large company of dancing buffoons dressed in white, came the Pope riding a fine, richly-clothed horse, while the Senator and nobles of Rome held a baldacchino over his head. The route was along the bank of the river, through the deserted Field of Mars, and across the bridge of St. Angelo to St. Peter's. The Frenchman's path was strewn with roses by the enthusiastic people. He looked upon their rough exterior, heard their strange speech, and observed the desolation and ruin around him, with feelings of disgust and dismay. He had left behind him the land of his birth, his luxurious home, a safe retreat from violence; he was now in the midst of a foreign people whose turbulence had driven away many of his predecessors, who were in the lowest state of poverty and degradation. He had been warned by his physicians that his delicate constitution would be seriously injured by the climate. He regarded himself, not without reason, as a martyr to the necessities of the Church.

The Pope's fears were soon justified. Rome entirely repudiated his temporal authority, definitely refusing to give up her Republican forms, her self-government. Gregory resolved to return to Avignon. If he had done so, it is probable that no Pope would again have left the comfort and security of the French retreat. At this crisis the pestilential atmosphere of Rome, which had so often been fatal to the invasions from the north, intervened to prevent desertion. Before the final arrangements for his departure had been completed, Gregory XI. lay dead, and in Rome. Bitterly had he regretted having listened to the mystic prophecies

of the pious St. Catherine, the classic enthusiasm of Petrarch, the self-seeking cries of Rome; and he died believing that his personal sacrifice had been in vain. A fine monument was erected to his memory by the grateful Romans in the church of S. Francesca Romana.

The death of the Pope at Rome, by fixing the Conclave in the city, gave the Romans the opportunity, which for seventy years had been denied to them, of interfering in the election so as to force the cardinals to elect a Roman, or at least an Italian. There were sixteen cardinals at Rome—one Spaniard, four Italians, and eleven Frenchmen, but the latter were in two hostile bodies. The government of the city was in the hands of a Senator, assisted by the thirteen captains of the regions. Their first precaution was to banish the leading nobles, and to guard the gates, with the double purpose of preventing the provincial barons from entering, and the cardinals from leaving. The cardinals sent all their valuables to the Castle of St. Angelo for safe keeping. They were unable to prevent the Roman mob from entering the Vatican apartments, in which the Conclave was to be held, which some of them insisted upon searching to assure themselves that none but cardinals were there, and that the electors had no secret outlet for escape. When the rabble were at last induced to withdraw, they threatened to kill all the cardinals if a Roman or Italian pope were not elected, and continued throughout the night to shout, 'Romano, Romano la volemo lo Papa, o almanco Italiano.' As the cardinals were unable for some time to come to a decision, the Romans began to prepare combustibles for burning the Conclave apartments; and they pushed long spears up into the hall through the boards, from below. At last an Italian, the Archbishop of Bari (Urban VI.) was elected. Unluckily a report

spread that their choice had fallen upon Cardinal Tibaldeschi, a Roman, and the joy of the populace at the news made the cardinals afraid to let the truth be known. They put the aged Tibaldeschi on the Papal chair, clothed in the Papal mantle and mitre; and, while the delighted Romans prostrated themselves for the adoration of the mock Pope, the guilty electors fled, some out of Rome altogether, others to their own palaces, others to the Castle of St. Angelo. For some time Tibaldeschi in vain continued to deny that he was the Pope. His protests were ascribed to humility. But when the people learned at last how they had been tricked, they burst into the Vatican, crying, 'Death to the traitors!', searching for the real Pope, Urban VI., who had fortunately discovered a secure place of concealment, and thus escaped assassination. Next morning passions had cooled. The Romans consoled themselves with the fact that the Pope was not French but Italian, and Urban VI. was duly crowned a few days later.

Irretrievable mischief had, however, been done. The French party declared that the election of Urban VI. had been obtained by violence, and was therefore illegal and void. They elected Robert of Geneva as Clement VII. The Church was split in two, the whole of Europe divided. Italy (except Naples), Hungary, Germany, Flanders, England supported Urban; Naples, Savoy, France, Spain favoured Clement. The great schism following the Babylonish Captivity was a heavy disaster to the Papacy. Rome, with her everlasting demand for recognition, had a large share in precipitating the ultimately inevitable Reformation.

The first task of Urban VI. was to secure his position in Rome. The Castle of St. Angelo was in the hands of the French. It was besieged, and, after a long resistance, at length captured. The Romans, in their senseless fury, attempted to demolish it, and suc-

ceeded in destroying the upper part, and in tearing off the marble blocks, which they used as paving-stones. Its older form is depicted in a fresco by Cimabue at Assisi.

During the forty years of the great schism, Rome continued to be a centre of intrigue and violence. Insurrections were frequent. The Pope would be driven out of the city one day, return soon after in triumph, hang a number of the citizens, and then be compelled once more to escape. Boniface IX. had to fly for his life. But the Jubilee of 1400 was approaching: and the Romans, fearful of losing his valuable presence during the holy year, were obliged to beg his return. He came back on his own conditions. The banderisi or bannerets, democratic captains of the thirteen regions, were for ever deprived of their power—the deathblow to Republican government in the city: and the Pope's nominee, Malatesta, was installed as Senator. Boniface strengthened his position by restoring the Castle of St. Angelo, rebuilding the Palace of the Senator on the Capitol, and fortifying the Vatican.

Two of the Colonnas of Palestrina, John and Nicholas, headed a body of malcontents and forced their way into the city through the Porta del Popolo, raising the cry, 'Long live the people! Death to the tyrant Boniface!' But the Capitol was ably defended by the Senator, a Venetian; the assailants defeated; and thirty-one of their number taken prisoner and hanged. The public executioner could not be found. The youngest of the condemned men was spared on condition that he hanged the rest; which he did, amongst them his own father and brother.

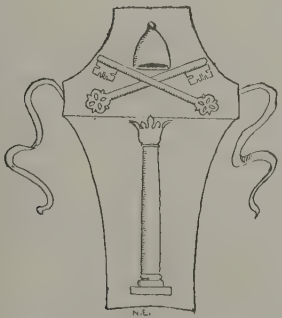
Rome, in this same Jubilee year of 1400, was visited by a fresh outburst of flagellants, whose melancholy processions of howling and bleeding men and women filled the streets; and by another unwelcome

visitor brought by the Jubilee pilgrims—the plague. Never has Rome seen a Jubilee to compare with that of 1400 for bloodshed, for disease, for despair and misery.

On the death of Boniface IX., in 1404, the city was once more in a state of tumult, the cries of Guelph, Ghibelline, Colonna, Orsini resounding through the barricaded streets. Ladislas, King of Naples, appeared in Rome to act as mediator between the city and the Pope. But the arrangement he made soon broke down. The Romans claimed Ponte Molle as within their area of government, which the Pope refused to acknowledge. After some fighting it was agreed that the bridge should be broken down in the middle, so as to make its possession useless to either side. As soon as this wanton destruction had been carried out, the quarrel blazed with greater fury than ever, owing to the seizure by Migliorati, the Pope's nephew, of eleven respected deputies of the people, on their way back from an interview with the Pope. The envoys were dragged into the hospital of S. Spirito, deliberately murdered, and their dead bodies thrown out of the window into the crowded street below. A paroxysm of fury at the dastardly deed came over the people. Pope and cardinals fled for their lives, and were followed with such eagerness that many of the Papal retinue died on their way to Viterbo, from fear and exhaustion; others were caught and at once killed. The people burst into and sacked the Vatican, where they installed John Colonna, calling him, in jest, John XXIII. Rome was in the hands of the mob. This state of anarchy soon became intolerable, and when Paul Orsini appeared at the head of a Papal force, he was welcomed as the symbol of law and order. The drama ended in the usual manner, with the triumphal re-entry of the Pope at the urgent

entreaty of the people who had but recently driven him away.

The next few years of Roman history are a chronicle of further disorders. The city was fought for by Ladislas of Naples, Lewis of Anjou, and a number of condottieri leaders, of whom Sforza, Braccio, Paul Orsini, Malatesta and Corsa were the most prominent. She had at one time (1415) no less than three popes — John XXIII., Gregory XII. and Benedict XIII. At last Europe intervened. The Council of Constance, after burning Hus and Jerome, deposed the three popes and (1417) elected Otto Colonna, who took the name of Martin V. With him began a new chapter in the history of Rome and of Europe.



ARMS OF MARTIN V. (COLONNA)

CHAPTER VIII

Renaissance Rome

'E certo sono di ferma opinione, che le pietre nelle mura sue siano degne di reverenzia; e'l suolo dov' ella siede sia degno oltre quello che per gli uomini è predicato e provato.'—*Dante, Convito IV. c. 5.*

'Nusquam minus Roma cognoscitur, quam Romae.'—*Petrarch.*

WHEN Martin V. entered Rome in September 1420 he was met at the Porta del Popolo and conducted to the Vatican by the delighted people, who had at last a Roman Pope, with great demonstrations of joy. But what he saw was a ghost, not a town. Houses and churches all in ruins, the deserted streets a mass of rubbish and filth; the nobility destroyed by Rienzi, the middle class by the wars and privations of the forty years of schism; the only inhabitants thieves, beggars, wolves and dogs. An English chronicler of the time says: 'O God, how pitiable is Rome! Once she was filled with great nobles and palaces; now with huts, thieves, wolves and vermin, with waste places, and the Romans themselves tear each other to pieces.' He had himself seen wolves and dogs fighting close to St. Peter's.

The Florentine, Poggio Bracciolini, came to Rome in 1420 and left an account of the ruins, from which it is evident that classic Rome had already been almost entirely destroyed.

Soon after the arrival of the Pope the Tiber overflowed and inundated the empty town, the water rising

TOMB OF MARTIN V. IN THE LATERAN BASILICA

in the Pantheon up to the high altar. Few travellers dared to approach the city, surrounded as it was by banditti. Martin V. suppressed these robbers and set justice, long absent, once more in force. He then began to repair the ruined basilicas, and commenced, in humble fashion, the era of architectural adornment.

The Romans had seen no firm, settled, orderly government since the days of Boniface VIII., a period of one hundred and twenty years, and were deeply grateful to Martin for the change which he brought. On his death, after a pontificate of fourteen years, the whole people followed the funeral procession to the Basilica of St. John Lateran, where a fine tomb, with a recumbent effigy in bronze by Antonio Filarete, was raised to his memory. The epitaph speaks of the 'temporum suorum felicitas.' It was only as a contrast to what had gone before that the Romans spoke of the happy times of Martin V.

His successor, Eugenius IV., threw Rome once more into disorder by the severe measures he took to compel the relatives of the late Pope to give up the wealth which they had derived from him. The Colonnas refused to disgorge. Eugenius seized Otto, the treasurer of Martin V., subjected him to a torture from which he expired, and hanged two hundred of the Colonna adherents. The Colonna palace he razed to the ground. For a time he was able to keep Rome in subjection. But it was not long before the Romans rose in insurrection, stormed the Capitol, and once more set up a Republic. The Pope had the greatest difficulty in escaping from his infuriated subjects. In his reign Antonio Filarete made the bronze gates of the central doorway of St. Peter's, in imitation of the great work by Ghiberti at the Baptistery of the Duomo, Florence.

If the strictly mediæval history of Rome closes with

Boniface VIII. in 1303, and the period of desertion and decay comes to an end on the arrival of Martin V. in 1420, the era of new life, of Renaissance, begins with Nicholas V. in 1447. The chief object of Nicholas V. was to increase the prestige of the Church by the grandeur of a new Rome. Before his time pilgrims to Rome had gazed with horror at the scandalous behaviour of Pope and cardinals, with contempt at the poverty and meanness of Rome. Boccaccio wittily expressed this in his story of a Jew converted to Christianity by a visit to Rome, where he found a dirty little town in ruins and a clergy utterly regardless of the decencies of polite society. The Jew was at once convinced of the divine origin of a religion which could live and flourish in spite of its contemptible Pope, its shameless cardinals and the pestilential beggary of its capital.

Nicholas V. determined to change all this. He thus explained his policy: 'To create solid and stable convictions in the minds of the uncultured masses, there must be something that appeals to the eye: a popular faith, sustained only by doctrines, will never be anything but feeble and vacillating. But if the authority of the Holy See were visibly displayed in majestic buildings, imperishable memorials and witnesses seemingly planted by the hand of God Himself, belief would grow and strengthen like a tradition from one generation to another, and all the world would accept and revere it. Noble edifices combining taste and beauty with imposing proportions would immensely conduce to the exaltation of the chair of St. Peter.' This was hardly a new discovery. But Nicholas V. was the first Pope who had both the opportunity and the will to carry it out. His works were mainly restorations. All the important churches were taken in hand and the foundations laid for a new basilica of St.

Peter. And Fra Angelico painted the fine frescoes in Nicholas V.'s chapel in the Vatican.

The money for these works was obtained from the large crowds of pilgrims who flocked into Rome for the Jubilee of 1450. As the people were returning one evening from St. Peter's a block occurred on the bridge of St. Angelo, which resulted in two hundred being crushed to death or pushed into the river. The Pope ordered a row of houses in front of the bridge to be cleared away, and erected two chapels at the entrance, where mass was daily offered for the souls of the victims.

The plague re-appeared in Rome in Jubilee year. It was to escape this pestilence, to ward it off by piety and devotion, that many had come to Rome. The black death had been a constant presence in Europe since its first advent a hundred years before, and needed only a vast concourse of people of every rank and nation, all collected in one overcrowded spot, to become once more the scourge of society. The universal desire to escape the contagion by prayers and offerings at Rome inevitably defeated itself. The idea of possible contagion had obtained no hold on the public mind. It was desirable to escape from the neighbourhood of the fell disease, but no precautions were taken to avoid contact with those who had been in the area of infection. Nicholas V. was one of the first to realise that the plague was carried from place to place by human beings. He left Rome hurriedly and shut himself up in a lonely castle, whence he issued the strictest orders that no man, not even a cardinal, should be allowed to come from Rome to within seven miles of his place of refuge, on pain of instant excommunication. As the weather became colder the epidemic abated, and Nicholas returned to Rome to collect the offerings of the faithful.

The pilgrims had to visit the four principal churches of St. Peter, St. Paul, Sta. Maria Maggiore, and St. John Lateran, every day for eight days in succession if they were foreigners, for fourteen days if Italians, and for a month if Romans. Their reward was a plenary indulgence, by which they obtained remission of the temporal punishments for such of their sins as had already received the absolution of the Church. At this time all the ornate ceremonies of the Church were carried out with great solemnity and splendour. At the Jubilee of Nicholas V. no effort was spared to impress the spectators. The handkerchief of St. Veronica, impressed with the miraculous likeness of the Saviour, was exhibited in St. Peter's every Sunday; the heads of the Apostles St. Peter and St. Paul on Saturdays. Every church which had minor relics exposed them daily. And the Pope gave his benediction at St. Peter's every Sunday.

Fortunate in many respects, Nicholas V. did not escape the fate of all popes, good or bad — a Roman revolution. Under the leadership of Stefano Porcaro the Romans made another attempt to re-establish the Senate of the Roman Republic. The effort failed, and Porcaro was hanged from the battlements of the Castle of St. Angelo. But Nicholas was deeply mortified at the ingratitude shown by the Romans for his orderly and mild government, and the great improvements he had made in the city.

Himself one of the most learned men of the day, and an ardent collector of books, Nicholas V. extended a generous hospitality to the homeless scholars who were driven out of Constantinople when it fell into the hands of the Turks in 1453. The Papal Court became a centre of art and learning. Nicholas founded the University of Glasgow, and the Vatican Library. He kept learned men constantly employed in translat-

ing Greek works into Latin. He was one of the few popes who welcomed all literature, whether Christian or profane. Catholic writers complain that at that date classical learning was dangerous to Christianity, and that Nicholas V., by his encouragement, did much to spread the false doctrines which produced the Reformation.

Pius II. (Æneas Sylvius Piccolomini) vainly endeavoured to rouse Europe to a crusade against the Turks. Constantinople was not Jerusalem; reverence for the Papacy had been gravely affected by the scandals of Avignon and the Great Schism; and the mediæval spirit of monastic chivalry and religious devotion had passed away. Instead of leading Europe in a crusade the Pope had to face an outbreak in Rome. During his temporary absence the discontented spirits, who regarded themselves as citizens first and Churchmen afterwards, combined with some of the barons—Savelli, Colonna, Anguillara—in a plot to restore the Republic. The Pope returned to Rome. 'What city,' said he, 'is freer than Rome? You pay no taxes, you bear no burdens, you occupy the most honourable posts, you sell your wine and corn at the price you choose, and your houses bring you in rich rents. And, moreover, who is your ruler? Is he a count, marquis, duke, king or emperor? No. But a greater than all those—the Roman Pontiff, the successor of St. Peter, the Vicar of Christ, whose feet all men desire to kiss. He it is who brings you glory and prosperity and attracts the wealth of the whole world to your gates.' It was the old quarrel. Rome had no freedom when the Pope was present, and no prosperity when he was absent. It ended in the usual way. For a short time the city was terrorised by the robbers and cut-throats who made their fortunes out of the civic disorders; and then the tiny

leaders of reform, Tiburzio and Vateriano di Maso, were hanged, and the revolt suppressed.

At the Conclave held on the death of Pius II. in 1464, each cardinal solemnly swore that he would observe certain prescribed rules, called capitulations, if he were elected Pope, the object being to increase the power of the cardinals and limit that of the Pope. As soon as the Venetian, Cardinal Barbo (Paul II.) was elected, he repudiated his oath, on the ground that the Pope receives his plenitude of power directly from God, and cannot divest himself of it. Capitulations remained a part of the Conclave procedure, but no pope has ever allowed himself to be influenced by his oath as a cardinal.

ARMS OF PAUL II. (BARBO)

As compensation to the cardinals for their subjection, the Pope gave them the privilege of wearing red robes. He had all a Venetian's love of magnificence, and tried to make the Papal Court a model of splendour for kings to imitate. His tall, handsome, figure added dignity and impressiveness to the Papal processions, and to the ornate ceremonies of the Church. He revived the use of the triple crown, which he adorned with valuable jewels. He had a passion, in his day regarded as a mania, for collecting jewels, cameos, mosaics, coins, and similar works of art. The Romans had long enjoyed the curious privilege of sacking the apartments of a newly-elected pope. Cardinal Barbo valued his treasures so highly that he took the precaution,

before his election, of surrounding his house with a body of soldiers. The mob, however, were not to be denied, and desisted from their assault upon the defended palace only upon payment of a sum of money as ransom.

The chief architectural work of Paul II. was the Palace of St. Mark, or 'di Venezia,' no longer occupied by the Austrian ambassador to the Pope. From this fine edifice, which has still the castellated appearance of a feudal fortress, Paul could enjoy the spectacle of the Carnival, which he greatly patronised and elaborated. He made it famous for races in which horses, donkeys, buffaloes, children, young men and aged Jews took part, the route being from the Piazza del Popolo to the Palazzo Venezia, along the street which thence derived its name of Corso.

The Jews were compelled to run every day during Carnival, and were given a dinner of rich food and strong wine just before the race, in order to increase their distress and the amusement of the spectators. Clement IX., in 1668, stopped this cruel ignominy, accepting a money payment instead. The horse races have only quite recently been abolished. Their peculiarity was the absence of jockeys. Strapped on to the backs of the horses were pieces of wood with sharp nails sticking out. The pain they produced, and the yells of the populace, made the poor beasts half crazy with excitement, and they rushed madly down the Corso until the Piazza Venezia was reached, the first arrival earning a prize subscribed for by the Jews. The small street close to the Palazzo Venezia, the Via di Ripetta dei Barberi, where the horses were caught as they galloped in, preserves the memory of these races.

Splendid processions were organised representing the ancient triumphs. Everything possible was done to

amuse and delight the pageant-loving Romans. On the last day of the Carnival a magnificent banquet was given to the chief magistrates, at the close of which the Pope himself threw coins among the crowd.

Sixtus IV. (della Rovere), elected in 1471, made nepotism an essential feature of Papal policy. He tried to extend the temporal power of the Pope by advancing the fortunes of his nephew, Piero Riario. His example was followed by Alexander VI. on behalf of his son Cesare Borgia. But the final conquest of the Papal States was reserved for the militant Julius II. In support of the policy of Sixtus IV., Alexander VI., and Julius II., it is argued that the temporal power of the Pope preserved the Papacy, at the time of the Reformation, from falling to its primitive condition of bishopdom. The Papal States upheld the Papacy, and thus gave time for the reorganisation of its ecclesiastical system. At the present day the Papal demand for temporal power is based on somewhat analogous grounds.

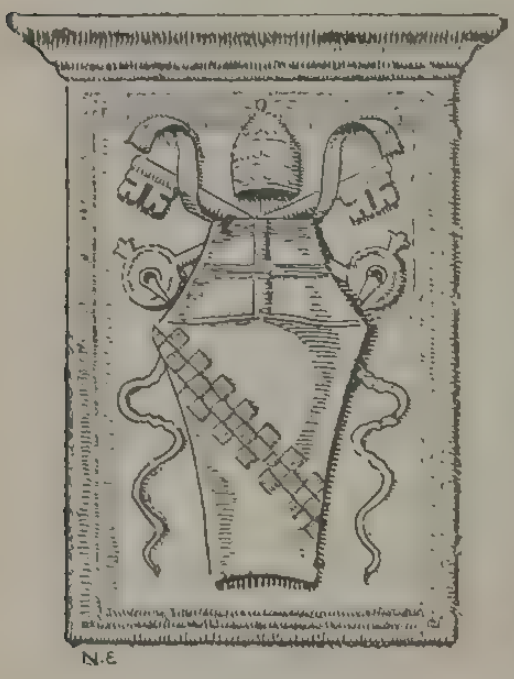
Sixtus IV., as Machiavelli remarked, 'was the first Pope who began to show the extent of the Papal power, and how things that before were called errors could be hidden behind the Papal authority.' He supported the assassins who killed Giuliano de Medici, and tried to kill Lorenzo, in the Duomo at Florence. The conflict between Colonna and Orsini produced desperate broils in Rome, which the Pope increased by his treacherous interference. He had Oddo Colonna executed, under circumstances which strongly point to broken faith. The mother of Oddo asserted that Sixtus IV. 'promised that if we gave up Marino he would give up my son. He has Marino, and I have my son's corpse; such is his faith.' Secret assassination, and shameless duplicity, were adopted as integral

portions of the policy of the Christian Church, by Sixtus IV. He began the moral degradation of the Papacy, paving the way for Innocent VIII., Alexander VI. and Clement VII.

The Jubilee of 1475, though not so successful as that of Nicholas V., brought great wealth, much of which Sixtus IV. devoted, in imitation of Nicholas V., to improvements in the city. He had already, in anticipation of the Jubilee, converted the Ponte Rotto into the Ponte Sisto, and thus prevented the recurrence of the previous disaster, by making the crowd use the Ponte St. Angelo in going to St. Peter's, and the Ponte Sisto in returning. As preparation for the pilgrims, Sixtus IV. also had the great hospital of Santo Spirito almost entirely rebuilt. Other works of practical utility were the restoration of the Acqua Virgine and the improvement of the decorated Fontana Trevi; and Rome was given something of its modern topography by the straightening and broadening of crooked narrow streets, for which purpose many old buildings and churches were destroyed. But his chief work was the Sistine Chapel. By his order the following great artists were employed in decorating the walls with paintings, viz.: Domenico Ghirlandajo, Sandro Botticelli, Luca Signorelli, Cosimo Rosselli, Pietro Perugino and Pinturicchio. Melozzo da Forli painted a portrait of Sixtus IV., surrounded by his relatives, appointing Platina as librarian of the Vatican. Originally a fresco on the walls of the Vatican library, this painting is now on canvas in the Vatican Picture Gallery, the process of removal having caused it much damage. Sixtus also employed Filippino Lippi, Luca Signorelli, Piero di Cosimo, Fra Diamante, and others of less fame, who came to Rome at his bidding. He rebuilt the church of S. Maria del Popolo, which contains some of the best paintings and monuments of

the Renaissance. His own beautiful tomb is in the chapel of the Sacrament in St. Peter's.

His successor, Innocent VIII. (1484–92), was the father of sixteen children. The era of shameless scandals was fully established. The example of the Curia was followed by all classes. Murder and robbery, in the open light of day, went unpunished, save that the wealthier criminals were induced to buy absolution. Cardinal Borgia, the Papal Vice-Chancellor, explained the policy of the court by saying, 'God desires not the death of a sinner, but rather that he should pay and live.'



ARMS OF INNOCENT VIII. (CIBO)

With the help of the blood money so obtained, Borgia bought the Papal chair. To Cardinal Orsini he gave his palace at Rome with his villas of Monticello and Soriano; to Cardinal Colonna the Abbey of Subiaco; to Cardinal Savelli the church of S. M. Maggiore and the town of Civita Castellana; to Cardinal Ascanio Sforza four mules laden with gold and silver, and a promise of the office of Vice-Chancellor; and to others in similar profusion. Thus did Cardinal Borgia become Alexander VI.

The characters of Alexander, his son Cesare, and his daughter Lucrezia have long been the subject of controversy. Lucrezia has finally been cleared of all the charges brought against her. Of Alexander and Cesare it is now said that, although they were undoubtedly

licentious, treacherous and murderers, their conduct differed but little, if at all, from that of their peers and contemporaries. At least they do not hold that pre-eminence in crime which has been assigned to them. They were Spaniards, and therefore foreigners—always a great disadvantage at the Papal Court. Cesare made a bad impression by speaking in Spanish to his father whatever the company or the occasion. And Alexander defied public opinion. He was the first Pope to openly declare himself the father of his children. He named publicly Cesare his son, and Lucrezia his daughter. To the Italian, a pope who took no pains to put on the gloss of a decent appearance, was a lost soul and capable of any crime. When once this character was acquired it grew with its own impetus. Just as the witty sayings of an entire generation are all ascribed to the reigning humorist of the day, so was it with the crimes of the Borgias. No prominent man died suddenly but his end was attributed to the poison of Alexander, or the dagger of Cesare. The Venetian envoy in Rome, after relating the current scandals as to the Borgia family, adds: 'Whatever may be the truth, one thing is certain; this Pope behaves in an outrageous and intolerable way.' He gave colour to accusations which, in themselves, are not grounded upon historical facts.

There were three exceptionally notorious tragedies in the Borgia family: the murder of the Duke of Gandia, Alexander's eldest son; the murder of the Duke of Biseglia, Alexander's son-in-law and husband of Lucrezia; and the death of Alexander himself.

The fate of the Duke of Gandia is thus related by the least unreliable contemporary, Burchard:—

'On the 8th of June the Cardinal of Valencia (Cesare Borgia) and the Duke of Gandia, sons of the Pope, supped with their mother, Vanozza, near the

church of St. Pietro in Vincoli, several other persons being present at the entertainment. A late hour approaching, and the cardinal having reminded his brother that it was time to return to the apostolic palace, they mounted their horses and mules, with only a few attendants, and proceeded together as far as the palace of Ascanio Sforza, where the duke took leave of Cesare, saying that he had to pay another visit that evening. Dismissing, therefore, all his attendants, except his *staffiere* or footman, and a person in a mask who had paid him a visit while at supper, and who, during the space of a month or thereabouts previous to this time, had called on him almost daily at the apostolic palace, he took this person behind him on a mule, and proceeded to the street of the Jews, where he quitted his servant, directing him to remain there till a certain hour, when, if he did not return, he might return to the palace. The duke then seated the person in a mask behind him and rode I know not whither, but on that night he was assassinated and thrown into the river. The servant, after having been dismissed, was also assaulted and mortally wounded, and although he was attended with great care, yet he could give no intelligible account of what had befallen his master. In the morning, the duke not having returned to the palace, the servants began to be alarmed, and one of them informed the Pontiff that he had not made his appearance since he left the palace the evening before. This gave the Pope no small anxiety, but still he took no further steps in the matter. When, however, the evening arrived, and he found himself disappointed in his expectation that his son would return, he became deeply afflicted, and began to make inquiries of different persons whom he had appointed to attend him for that purpose. Among these was a man of the name of Giorgio Schiavone, who, having

discharged some timber from a barque in the river, had remained on board the vessel to watch it. On being interrogated whether he had seen anyone thrown into the river on the preceding night, he replied that he saw two men on foot, who came down the street and looked diligently about to observe whether any person was passing; that, seeing no one, they returned, and a short time afterwards two others came and looked round in the same manner as the former. No persons still appearing, they gave a sign to their companions, when a man came, mounted on a white horse, having behind him a dead body, the head and arms of which hung on one side of the horse, and the feet on the other, the two persons on foot preventing the body from falling. They now proceeded towards that part where the filth of the city is usually discharged into the river, and turning the horse with his tail towards the water, the two persons took the dead body by the arms and feet, and, with all their strength, flung it into the river. The person on horseback then asked if they had thrown it in, to which they replied, "*Signor, si*" ("yes, sir"). He then looked towards the river and saw a mantle floating on the stream. He inquired what it was that appeared black, on which they answered that it was a mantle, and one of them threw stones upon it, in consequence of which it sank. The attendants of the Pontiff then inquired of Giorgio why he had not revealed this to the Governor of the city, to which he replied that he had seen in his time a hundred dead bodies thrown into the river at the same place without any inquiry being made respecting them, and he had not, therefore, considered it a matter of any importance.'

The body was found with the throat cut, and eight other wounds, but there were thirty gold ducats in the purse, showing that the assassins were not

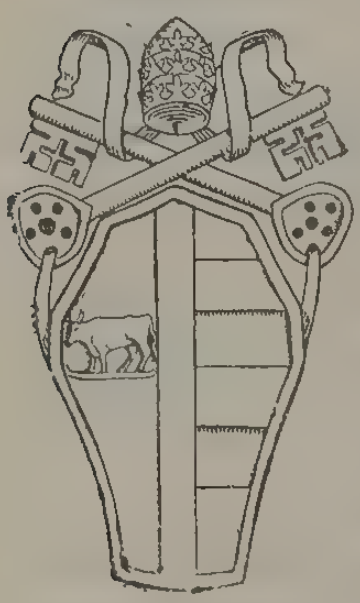
robbers. The corpse was taken to the church of S. Maria del Popolo, where it lay in state. Alexander VI. was prostrated with grief. He instituted a searching inquiry into the matter, without obtaining any clue. Suspicion fell in turn upon most of the prominent men, but without result. At a consistory, Alexander, almost overcome with emotion, said, 'The Duke of Gandia is dead. Our grief is inexpressible, because we loved him dearly. We no longer value the Papacy or anything else. If we had seven Papacies we would give them all to restore him to life. Perhaps God has punished us for some sin; it is not because he deserved so cruel a death. It is said that the Lord of Pesaro has killed him; we are sure that it is not so. Of the Prince of Squillace it is incredible. We are sure also of the Duke of Urbino. God pardon whoever it be. For ourselves, we can attend to nothing, neither the Papacy nor our life.' Cardinal Ascanio Sforza at first was strongly suspected; then Antonio della Mirandola, whose house was near the spot where the body was found, and who had a beautiful daughter. But nothing was discovered, and the murder of the Duke of Gandia remains a mystery. When, some time afterwards, the Pope began to advance his second son Cesare to the place formerly held by the murdered man, suspicion was fastened upon the brother, and there it has remained ever since.

The Papal policy was now directed to the advancement of Cesare. Lucrezia was used for that purpose. She was both beautiful and learned, could read and write Latin, Italian and Spanish. On one occasion, during her father's absence from Rome, she was entrusted with the opening and answering of the Papal correspondence—a fine example of Alexander's contempt for public opinion. While yet a child, Lucrezia was betrothed to a Spanish gentleman, a connection

which was immediately dissolved by her father on his elevation to the Pontificate. She was married at the age of fifteen or sixteen to Giovanni Sforza, Lord of Pesaro. When the Pope found that Sforza was a man of weak character, useless for ambitious projects, he annulled the marriage, and gave Lucrezia as wife to Alfonso, Duke of Biseglia, natural son of Alfonso II., King of Naples.

Shortly after the marriage, Lucrezia's new husband was attacked near St. Peter's, and severely wounded, by a band of assassins who were immediately escorted out of the city by a force of cavalry which had been waiting in a place of concealment. Clearly some person of influence had instigated the assault. The wounded man was carried to the house of the nearest cardinal. Before he had recovered from his wounds he was murdered in his room. According to the popular belief of the time, Cesare himself dispatched his brother-in-law, being admitted into the house for that purpose by Lucrezia. Her complicity is now entirely disbelieved. Lucrezia was very fond of her husband. She nursed him with tender care; she occupied the same room, never leaving it, and there she herself cooked his food, for fear of poison. The best known contemporary account is that of the Venetian ambassador, Paolo Capello, who thus reported: 'During the time Alfonso lay in his sick-room, recovering from his wounds, the Pope, knowing the hatred Cesare Borgia bore to his brother-in-law, had the house surrounded by guards lest the duke should kill him. On only one occasion, when the Pope visited Alfonso, did Cesare Borgia accompany him; and then, on noticing how much his brother-in-law had recovered from the wounds he had received, he merely remarked: "Quello che non è fatto a disnar, si fara a cena" ("what has not been done at dinner shall be done at supper"). Accordingly, one

day, when he entered the room, he found the patient had already risen, and making some excuse for sending Lucrezia and Sancia out of the room, Michele, the common executioner, came in as if called and strangled the said youth.' If this story is to be believed the intentions of Cesare were well known, and yet he was permitted to visit his brother-in-law; Lucrezia ventured to leave the two together, and even allowed so notorious a character as the public executioner to walk into her husband's sick-room. Exactly how the Dukes of Gandia and Biseglia met their deaths will never be known. Cesare is accused of both murders. There is not enough evidence to connect him with the death of his brother, but he probably did cause his brother-in-law to be killed.



ARMS OF ALEXANDER VI. (BORGIA)

The death of Alexander VI. is thus described by a contemporary, Sanuto: 'The Cardinal Datary Adrian de Corneto, having one morning received a message from the Pontiff stating that he intended, in company with his son Cesare, the Duke of Valentinois, that evening to pay the cardinal a visit and to sup with him, and that they would bring their supper with them, was terrified at the intelligence, being fully impressed with the conviction that His Holiness or his son intended poisoning him in order to possess his treasure, the said cardinal being very rich. Thinking rapidly over the matter, he saw but one means of saving his life. He immediately sent to the head carver of the Pope, requesting he would oblige him by visiting him as soon

as possible. The carver obeyed the request, and the cardinal, having conducted him to a private room, placed in his hand ten gold ducats, which he requested the said carver to accept as a proof of the love he bore him. After many objections and simulated repugnance the carver accepted the gift, stating that he did so from obedience to the orders of His Eminence. The cardinal then, finding the carver willing to lend a ready ear to anything he might say, addressed him in the following manner: "You perfectly well know the intentions of the Pope, and that he and his son, the Duke of Valentinois, have determined that I shall die by poison, which will be administered to me this evening, and I now humbly beg of you to spare my life." After some demur, stimulated doubtless by the promise of reward on the part of the cardinal, the carver told him the manner in which it had been agreed between them that the poison should be administered. After supper was over he had been ordered to place on the table three boxes of confectionery, one of which was to be placed before the Pope, another before the cardinal, and the third before the Duke of Valentinois, taking care to place the one containing the poison before His Excellency. The cardinal begged and implored the said carver to change the manner the confectioneries were to be placed on the table, so that the one containing the poison should be put before the Pope that he might eat of it and die. The carver at first was horrified at the suggestion, but on the cardinal offering him 10,000 ducats in gold as a reward he relented, and agreed that the box of poisoned sweetmeats should be placed before the Pope. After the supper was over the cardinal placed on the table the boxes of sweetmeats, having first received information from the carver which was the one containing the poison, and that the cardinal placed before

the Pope, who, under the impression that the one before him did not contain the poisoned sweetmeats, ate of them gaily, and of the other, which he believed contained the poison, the Pope pressed the cardinal to eat, who obeyed him without hesitation. Shortly after His Holiness had departed he felt ill, and the next morning he died; while the cardinal, still having some fear that the sweetmeats he had eaten might have been poisoned, took an emetic, and thus escaped the danger with which he had been threatened.'

Voltaire was one of the first to discredit this story. Speaking of Guicciardini's account, which followed that of Sanuto, he says: 'I make bold to say to Guicciardini, Europe has been deceived by you, and you have been deceived by your hatred. You were the Pope's enemy; you have trusted too much to your dislike and to the actions of his life. True, he had carried out cruel and perfidious vengeance on enemies as cruel and perfidious as himself; therefore you conclude that a Pope of seventy-four did not die a natural death; you pretend, merely on rumour, vague rumour, that an aged sovereign, whose coffers at the time were filled with more than a million gold ducats, wished to poison some cardinals that he might get possession of their furniture. But was this furniture so very important? These articles were nearly always carried off by servants before the popes could lay hold of a few fragments of the plunder. How can you think that, for so small a gain, a prudent man would risk so infamous an action? It was one which needed accomplices, and which, sooner or later, must be discovered. Ought I not rather to believe the diary of the Pope's illness than idle public gossip? That diary relates that he died of a double tertian fever. There is not the slightest evidence for the accusation brought against his memory. His son Borgia fell ill at the

time of his father's death; therein lies the sole foundation for the poison story.'

Voltaire, with his usual over-statement, has brought down the Papal advantage from the death of a cardinal to a hopeless scramble for odd pieces of furniture. Alexander derived great advantage from the death of a cardinal, whose property he confiscated, whose dignity he sold. The million ducats to which Voltaire alludes were collected in this manner. It is more to the purpose to show, as Creighton has done, that there was no abnormal increase in the death-rate of the cardinals during the reputed epidemic of poisoning by Alexander VI.

In the fifteenth century medical knowledge had not advanced far. Little was known of drugs. The physicians had small skill in diagnosing the cause of death, and an autopsy was seldom attempted. That certain substances, crude poisons, would cause death if swallowed, was recognised; but the opinion of a medical attendant of that age, who had not seen poison administered, as to the cause of death, can carry no weight to the modern mind. The contemporary belief in poisons had no more solid ground than had the common faith in the efficacy of amulets, precious stones and other charms against poison. Itinerant necromancers, astrologers, and other quacks, with one hand distributed the most deadly and invisible poisons, while with the other they did a great trade in the charms which would warn the wearer of their presence. It was implicitly believed that men could be killed merely by the smell of a poisonous vapour, or the touch of a poisonous ointment. If poison could so easily be administered, it is strange that an able and unscrupulous man like Cesare Borgia should have exposed his own person to danger during the operation of hacking at an enemy with a sword. No doubt poison was sometimes used effec-

tively by the princes of that time, and Alexander VI. would not hesitate to avail himself of its powers. But the extent of his operations must have been exceedingly limited. His own death was caused by supping, on a hot summer evening, in the garden of the Cardinal Adrian, in the Borgo Nuovo. The cardinal, the Pope and Cesare, who was also present, were all attacked by fever. The aged Pontiff died; the younger men recovered. Voltaire anticipated modern opinion when he said that it was the illness of Cesare, and the unscrupulous character of Alexander, which gave a ready acceptance to the inventions of the enemies of the Borgia family.

The death of his father proved disastrous to the fortunes of Cesare. At the suggestion of Pope Julius II. (della Rovere) he was seized, by order of Ferdinand of Spain, and imprisoned in Valencia. After two years of confinement he managed to escape, but was killed while fighting for his brother-in-law, the King of Navarre, at the siege of Viana, on the 12th May 1507, at the age of thirty-one. Cesare was handsome, brave, talented, a brilliant soldier, a just and able administrator, the patron of Pinturicchio and of Leonardo da Vinci. The son of a Spanish pope by his Italian mistress (Vanossa), he had determined to make for himself a great place among the haughty princes of Italy. Fraud and violence were the only weapons used in his day. Cesare Borgia owes his fearful reputation to the whole-souled thoroughness with which he played the game.

The Borgias have left memorials in Rome. Alexander VI. employed Antonio di Sangallo in the restoration and decoration of the Castle of St. Angelo. It was given the appearance of a mediæval castle, with towers and ditches; the houses round it were pulled down, and it was connected with the Vatican by the

new street called the Borgo Nuovo, as well as by the older private passage along which several popes have fled to reach the protection of the fortress. Alexander also employed Pinturicchio (succeeded by Giovanni da Udine and Pierino del Vaga), to beautify the handsome Appartamenti Borgia in the Vatican.

Alexander VI. was succeeded by his enemy, Julius II. The new Pope recovered and settled upon a solid foundation the States of the Church. He will be longer remembered for the works of art which were produced under his patronage.

The foundations of the Basilica of St. Peter had begun to give way at the side which leaned upon the wall of the Circus of Nero. Julius resolved to carry out the scheme of Nicholas V., not by restoration, but by demolition and re-erection. The grand old church, with its unrivalled historic monuments and associations, its beautiful mosaic pavement, its pillars perhaps dating from Constantine, was ordered to be pulled down, and Bramante was commissioned to build a new one. On April 18, 1506, Julius II. laid the foundation stone, now covered by the pier of St. Veronica. Bramante lived to complete the four immense piers, and the arches which spring from them. The successors of Julius employed the most famous artists to continue the work, amongst them Raphael, Michelangelo (who built the drum and designed the dome), Vignola, Pirro Ligorio, Giacomo della Porta (who built the dome, making a slight alteration from the curve intended by Michelangelo), and Carlo Maderno (who built the excessive façade). The basilica was finally dedicated by Urban VIII. in 1626, having cost about £10,000,000. The façade is out of proportion to the rest of the building, obscuring the dome; and the use of the single order throughout wastes the advantage to be derived from immense size. The interior

also has defects, the opening for the cupola seeming like a slit in the roof. But, looked at as a whole, St. Peter's is the most splendid church in the world. It is made entirely, even to the mortar, of materials taken from the ruins of classic monuments.

Julius II. caused the coffin of his hated predecessor, Alexander VI., to be taken out of old St. Peter's and deposited in the church of S. Giacomo degli Spagnuoli (now in charge of the French congregation of the Sacred Heart), whence it was transferred to the Spanish National Church of S. Maria di Monserrato. There also lie the remains of his uncle, Alfonso Borgia, Pope Calixtus III. In 1881 a tardy monument was erected to commemorate the most notorious name in the Papal record.

For his own tomb Julius employed Michelangelo, who produced the monument—only a fragment of the original design—which is now in the church of S. Pietro in Vincoli, and not, as intended, in St. Peter's. Fine as it is, this tomb absorbed an excessive amount of Michelangelo's time and energy. For years it remained a constant source of worry and annoyance, interfering with other projects, and damaging his artistic career. A greater achievement was the marvellous portrait of the fortunate Julius, painted by Raphael, to be seen in the National Gallery in London.

The work executed by Michelangelo and Raphael in Rome was undoubtedly influenced by the personality of Julius II. The grandeur of his ideas, his passionate energy, may now be seen on the ceiling of the Sistine Chapel, which was begun and completed during the life of the Pope, and under his direction and inspiration. The paintings of Raphael in the Stanza della Segnatura probably owe their general design to the suggestions of this imperious Pontiff.

In 1511, during the Pontificate of Julius II., there

came to Rome the Augustinian monk, Martin Luther. It was with feelings of pious awe that he approached the sacred city. When he first caught a glimpse of the church towers in the distance, he fell on his knees and exclaimed, 'Hail to thee, Holy Rome! made holy by the holy martyrs and the blood which they have shed.' He entered the convent attached to the church of Sta. Maria del Popolo. He tells us how shocked he was on finding that before he had got as far as the Gospel, while saying his first mass, his Italian companion had arrived at the final words, 'Ite missa est' (from which the mass takes its name). Long afterwards Luther spoke of his disillusionment at Rome. 'I would not,' he said, 'for a thousand florins have missed seeing Rome. I should have always felt an uneasy doubt whether I was not, after all, doing injustice to the Pope. As it is, I am quite satisfied on the point.' Yet while he was in Rome he was full of pious enthusiasm. 'I was like a mad saint in Rome,' he says. 'I ran through all the churches and believed everything that is lied there. I have said many masses at Rome, and while there was heartily sorry that my father and mother were yet living, so willingly would I have released them from purgatory by my masses and other excellent works and prayers.' But one day when he was slowly and laboriously climbing up the Scala Santa on his knees he heard a voice say, 'The just shall live by faith, not by pilgrimage, not by penance.' Though occasionally shocked by what he saw, he left Rome the ardent Catholic that he was when he arrived, and it was only when his feelings had changed that he gave a hostile interpretation to his Roman experiences. He tells us that he was greatly impressed by the gorgeous Papal processions that he witnessed; that he clambered over the ruins of the Colosseum 'at the peril of his life'; and that he felt the extraordinary

significance of the Christian service performed in the Pagan Pantheon.

Of the customs of the country the simple-minded monk thus speaks: 'The Italians only require you to look in a mirror to be able to kill you. They can deprive you of all your senses by secret poisons. In Italy the air itself is pestilential; at night they close hermetically every window, and stop up every chink and cranny.' He and the brother who was his travelling companion became very ill from sleeping with the window open, but managed to cure themselves by eating pomegranates.

On the death of Julius II. in 1513 the Cardinals in Conclave had some difficulty in choosing a successor. The older men favoured one of the senior members of the College, Raffaele Riario, while the younger cardinals preferred Giovanni de' Medici for his genial, polished manners and his unwarlike, easy-going temperament. They were tired of the scandals of Alexander VI., and the political turmoil under Julius II. They voted for a quiet, ornamental Pope. Their own youth gained them the day. The guardians of the Conclave were obliged, in order to hasten a decision, to reduce the food of the cardinals, and finally cut them down to a vegetable diet. The older men had to give in. Cardinal Medici, though only thirty-eight years of age, was known to suffer from a dangerous disease, and did not promise to be long-lived, so he was at last elected, and took the name of Leo X.

The first Medici pope, son of Lorenzo the Magnificent, had been a cardinal from the age of nineteen. He made Rome the social, intellectual and artistic capital of Europe. He carried out, as no pontiff before or since has been in a position to do, the great plan of Nicholas V. to subjugate the world by splendour. Raphael was employed to continue the

THE·VILLA·MEDICI·· FROM·THE· TERRACE·

series of paintings which he had commenced for Julius II. He chose subjects which would be flattering to the Pope. In the Stanza d'Eliodoro the Deliverance of St. Peter from Prison refers to the liberation of Leo X. when cardinal, after his capture at the battle of Ravenna; and the Flight of Attila from St. Leo I., who has the features of Leo X., alludes to the Pope's success in driving the French out of Italy. In the Stanza dell' Incendio the subjects are, the Coronation of Charlemagne by Leo III., the Conjuring of the Fire in the Borgo by Leo IV., the Justification of Leo III. before Charlemagne, and the Defeat of the Saracens at Ostia by Leo IV.—the Pope in each picture being Leo X.

The Pope was a generous patron of art, bringing to Rome all the great artists of the day. He was also prodigal in expenditure upon Church ceremonies, great civic pageants, and sumptuous banquets. His extravagance was rivalled by that of the wealthy banker, Agostino Chigi. The Villa of Chigi, now the Palazzo della Farnesina, was built from the designs of Baldassare Peruzzi, and adorned with paintings by Raphael, Michelangelo, Giulio Romano, Sebastiano del Piombo, Daniele da Volterra, and others of almost equal fame. Even his stables were planned by Raphael. He invited the Pope to dinner in the loggia of his garden by the Tiber. The silver plates and dishes, as they became soiled by use, were ostentatiously thrown into the river, where, unknown to the astonished guests, nets had been laid to catch them. Were it not for the prudence exhibited in anecdotes of this nature, the Rome of Leo X. might almost be regarded as rivalling in extravagance the luxury of the Claudian Emperors. Leo would, no doubt, have outdone Nero if he had been able, but he had not the means. He spent a great deal more than his income, left behind

him immense personal debts, and the Papal treasury empty. To furnish funds for his magnificence, he sold Indulgences, and thus lost nearly half of Europe. Raphael produced Luther, St. Peter's the Reformation.

The Conclave which met on the death of Leo X. had great difficulty in coming to a choice. Finally, when their food had been reduced, the cardinals elected the last foreigner to be a pope, Cardinal Adrian Florent of Utrecht, who retained his own name and became Adrian VI. The new Pope seems to have realised that the struggle for supremacy between Francis I. of France and the Emperor Charles V., which absorbed all men's minds, was not the vital issue of the time. He saw that the movement for reform in the Church was more important than the rivalry of king and emperor. He tried to meet the moral discontent of the northern lands by reforming the Curia itself, by cleansing the Papal Court of its gross venality and corruption, by making the Pope once more the holder of the conscience of Europe. He succeeded merely in irritating the cardinals and estranging Rome. His death was regarded as a happy release from a stern master.

The cardinals disputed long over the selection of a successor. They were united on one point, that no zealous, reforming foreigner should again be introduced into the sacred purlieus of the Vatican to disturb its customs, hallowed by the memories of Sixtus IV., Innocent VIII. and Alexander VI.—and all subsequent conclaves have been of the same opinion. The struggle went on until the manager of the Conclave limited the food of the cardinals to bread and water. Then Cardinal Medici promised, if elected, to bestow on Cardinal Colonna the office of Vice-Chancellor and the Riario Palace; and dedicated all his other benefices to be divided among the other cardinals, who would

thus, it was calculated, get 1000 ducats each. He was elected.

Clement VII. was the unfortunate Pope who saw Rome sacked, and the Papacy reduced almost to impotence by the Reformation. Like Leo X., he thought more about Francis I. and Charles V. than about Luther. The temporal aspect of the Papacy had swallowed up the spiritual. Clement took the part of the French king, who was defeated and captured at the battle of Pavia in 1525. This Papal misfortune was followed by the defection of Cardinal Colonna, who had not obtained from the Pope what he considered the full price for his vote and influence at the Conclave, and raised the powerful Colonna party against Clement. Moncada, who had fought under Cesare Borgia, and was now the envoy of Charles V., was given command of the Colonna army. He entered Rome without opposition. Clement VII. had to submit to the terms offered. He promised to abandon the cause of Francis and to pardon the Colonna, and he gave hostages. No prince or pope of that age adhered to the stipulations of a treaty longer than suited his convenience. As soon as Moncada was gone, Clement collected 10,000 men, who attacked and destroyed the Colonna castles at Marino, Frascati, Grotta Ferrata and Genanzano. The cardinal and his family were dismissed from all their offices.

The great Roman family had not long to wait for a revenge similar to that which their famous ancestor Sciarra had, with the aid of France, exacted from Boniface VIII. for his destruction of the Colonna fortress at Palestrina. On May 5, 1527, the Duke of Bourbon stood before Rome at the head of a Colonnese and Imperial army, a motley crowd of Germans, Spaniards and Italians. Early on the following morning he led them, carrying ladders, to assault the low

walls between the gates of San Pancrazio and Santo Spirito on the Vatican Hill. The sun rising caused a fog which concealed the invaders, who were thus able to scramble on to the walls and take possession of the Borgo, after a short resistance. The Pope was in his chapel, whence he hastened along the private gallery leading from the Vatican to the Castle of St. Angelo, an attendant holding up the Papal train while they both ran at top speed, followed by a number of cardinals and Court officials. In front of the castle, wisely fortified by Alexander VI., was a struggling mass of ecclesiastics and nobles, fighting with each other for entrance. Cardinal Pucci was trampled upon and badly hurt, but his attendants succeeded in pushing him through a window. Cardinal Armellino, after the gate had been closed, was drawn up in a basket.

Then began a sack from which Rome has never recovered. Bourbon, most unfortunately for Rome, had been killed early in the assault. The invaders were under no control. There was no Alaric to restrain the horde of 40,000 half-starved savages who found themselves masters of the city; no Brennus to stay their hands on payment of ransom. For several days every desire was gratified; murder, rape, pillage, cruelty, avarice held Rome in relentless embrace. The German Lutherans took an especial pleasure in despoiling the churches and disregarding their sanctity. The Spaniards distinguished themselves by their applications of torture to assist the recovery of hidden wealth. The Italians were the most ingenious in the discovery of secret hoards. The Germans were the first to relieve the blackness by a touch of grey comedy. They paraded through the streets, dressed in the richest garments of the Church, imitating with drunken solemnity the gorgeous processions of the Papal Court. The Cardinal of Siena, though an Imperialist by the

traditions of his family, had to pay a ransom to the Spaniards. This did not save him from the Germans, who stripped him naked and dragged him through the

ARMS OF LEO X. AND CLEMENT VII. (MEDICI)

streets in that condition, until he agreed to pay them a ransom also. The Cardinal of Ara Cœli they placed upon a bier, which they carried into a church, and there celebrated with ribald buffoonery the obsequies of the mock corpse. A bishop, whose finger refused to be released of its ring, had to lose both ring and finger,

hacked off with a knife. Friend and foe were treated alike. The Portuguese embassy was sacked and the Portuguese ambassador compelled to pay a large ransom. Even the Imperial secretary had to buy his life with a money payment. The only distinction made by the soldiers was between beauty and ugliness, wealth and poverty. 'Never,' says Ranke, 'never did a richer booty fall into the hands of a more terrible army; never was there a more protracted and more ruinous pillage. The splendour of Rome fills the beginning of the sixteenth century; it marks an astonishing period of development of the human mind—with this day it was extinguished for ever.'

Clement VII. remained in security in the Castle of St. Angelo. His contribution towards the defence of Rome was a copious and sustained flow of whines and tears. On May 10 Cardinal Colonna arrived, and made an effort, only partially successful, to stop the excesses. Then St. Angelo was attacked, and the Pope capitulated. He placed himself and his cardinals in the power of the Imperial generals; agreed to pay 400,000 ducats; surrendered Ostia, Civita Vecchia, Modena, Parma and Piacenza; and restored the Colonna family to their dignities and possessions. The money, however, was not paid, and as all threats were powerless to compel payment, the German soldiers, who had left Rome to escape the plague which sprang up in the wake of the destruction and death which they had sown, suddenly returned and seized Clement's relatives and advisers as hostages. Cardinal Colonna's anxiety for a cessation of the pillage of Rome led him to use every endeavour for raising the money. The Germans announced that they would kill their hostages, whom they dragged about in irons, if they did not get 50,000 ducats in five days' time. Something had to be done. It was proposed to create five cardinals at

20,000 ducats each; but nobody would pay such a price on the doubtful security of a pope in prison. Three bishops, however, agreed to make a deposit with a surety of 10,000 ducats each, to be paid over only when the Pope was released and they had their cardinals' hats in their hands; a further 10,000 ducats would be paid when their creations were published. Upon this basis it was finally arranged that the Pope should be set free from his imprisonment in St. Angelo on payment of 66,000 ducats at once, to be followed by 300,000 more within three months. The first instalment was paid, Clement released, the three cardinals' hats sent to their lucky purchasers, and the savages withdrew from their prey. 'When at last,' says Symonds, 'the barbarians, sated with blood, surfeited with lechery, glutted with gold and decimated with pestilence, withdrew, Rome raised her head a widow. From the shame and torment of that sack she never recovered—never again became the gay, licentious capital of arts and letters—the glittering, extravagant Rome of Leo X.'

The humiliation of the Pope had, in fact, been greater than the victors desired. The Imperial envoy wrote from Rome to Charles V. with a request for instructions. 'We are waiting,' he said, 'to know how your Majesty intends the City of Rome to be governed; whether it is to be some sort of Apostolic Seat or not. The opinion of many of your Majesty's servants is that the Apostolic Seat should not be entirely removed from Rome; for then the King of France will set up a patriarch in his kingdom, and deny obedience to the Apostolic Seat; the King of England will do likewise, and so will all other Christian princes. The opinion of your Majesty's servants is that it would be best to keep the Apostolic Seat so low that your Majesty can always dispose of it and command it.' Only fourteen

years had elapsed since the glorious days of Leo X. Rome was in ashes, and it was seriously debated whether the Papacy was any longer of any use to anybody; whether it would not be well to get rid of it as a common nuisance. This was the result of neglecting the reforms demanded by Luther and of concentrating the Papal attention upon political and merely temporal conflicts.

The splendid Papacy of Renaissance Rome, inaugurated by Martin V., came to an end with the successor of Leo X. The Romans spoke of the happiness of the times of Martin V. from their recollection of the terrors which preceded it. It is as a contrast to what followed that the name of Leo X. is associated with the Golden Age.

ARMS OF SIXTUS IV. AND JULIUS II. (DELLA ROVERE)

THE DOME OF ST. PETER'S FROM THE JANICULAN

CHAPTER IX

The Catholic Reaction

'There is not, and there never was on this earth, a work of human policy so well deserving of examination as the Roman Catholic Church. The history of that Church joins together the two great ages of human civilisation. No other institution is left standing which carries the mind back to the times when the smoke of sacrifice rose from the Pantheon, and when camelopards and tigers bounded in the Flavian amphitheatre. . . . And she may still exist in undiminished vigour when some traveller from New Zealand shall, in the midst of a vast solitude, take his stand on a broken arch of London Bridge to sketch the ruins of St Paul's.'—*Macaulay.*

THE sack of Rome, and the Reformation movement in Germany and England, were heavy blows for the Papal power; its influence seemed to be gone for ever; some of the most devout Catholics believed that their religion was doomed. But the Church of Rome has as great a vitality as the eternal city in which she was born. The wave of hostility

which lost her the northern states of Europe was followed by a reaction which raised the Papacy once more to a position, if not of supremacy in Europe, yet of substantial importance. The chief factors in the Papal restoration were the normal ebb and flow of human nature, and the equally natural tendency of the temporary victors to quarrel over the spoils. While the Protestants were wrangling over the dogmas of the new religion, there was a rebound in favour of Catholicism in the hitherto undecided countries of Central Europe. The South of Europe remained, from the first, true to the Pope. The war between the North and the South for the central territory — France, Belgium, Bavaria, Bohemia, Austria, Poland, Hungary —ended by the Peace of Westphalia in 1648, in favour of the South. The Papal triumph was as much due to spiritual and moral influences as to military success. Organisation and zeal overcame disorder and apathy.

Clement VII. made peace with Charles V. In 1530, at Bologna, he crowned Charles Emperor of the Romans, the last occasion on which the Holy Roman Empire was consecrated at the hands of a pope. Emperor and Pope entered into an alliance which secured the supremacy of Spain and the Papacy throughout Italy. With the aid of Spain, which had come to Charles through his mother, the daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella, the Pope became more powerful as an Italian prince than had ever previously been the case. Italy, indeed, was now subject to a Spanish and Papal tyranny.

The moral regeneration of Catholic Christendom was brought about by new institutions and reforms, the work of zealous and devoted men. Ignatius Loyola began his crusade. The Spanish Inquisition was established in Rome. The censorship over literature commenced. And the Council of Trent defied the Protestant world by insisting that all Christians must continue to em-

brace in every particular the old established creed of the Roman Church, and nothing less.

Loyola was the son of a Spanish noble. A true Spanish gentleman of the better class, he had the eager, passionate ideals of religious chivalry which, in all countries except Spain, had died with the failure of the Crusades. The romance of *Amadis de Gaul*, with its mystic piety, enthusiasm, and knightly adventures, was published during his childhood, and became his favourite reading as a young man. The spirit which animated Sir Lancelot and Sir Galahad still lingered amongst the Spanish nobility. *Don Quixote* was not published till a hundred years later. Loyola secretly devoted his life to the service of a lady, 'no countess and no duchess, but of yet higher degree;' and at the same time he was writing a romantic story of St. Peter. An accident changed the course of his life. At the siege of Pampeluna, in 1521, he was struck by a cannon ball in both legs, and survived the injury only to be lame for life. During the long illness and slow convalescence he read such books as the Castle of Loyola contained—a *Life of Christ* and *Lives of the Saints*. Cut off by physical injury from all hope of military glory, the ambitious spirit of the young man now became inflamed with religious ardour. He determined to emulate the heroic deeds of St. Dominic and St. Francis. He took the vows of chastity and poverty, and embarked upon the routine of self-flagellation and ascetic mortification. He made a pilgrimage to Our Lady of Montserrat, near Barcelona, hung up his arms at the shrine, and, going through the ceremony ordained in *Amadis de Gaul*, he performed in dark and secret solitude the vigil by which a squire earned the spurs of knighthood. Next day he gave away his fine clothing to a beggar, assumed the garb of a mendicant pilgrim, and went forth into the world in the self-dedicated

character of Knight of the Holy Church. His travels and adventures, including visits to Jerusalem and London, and several narrow escapes from the Inquisition on the charge of heresy, cannot be further related here.

It was in 1540, at Rome, that the Society of Jesus was launched, and in 1543 that it was finally and unconditionally established with the approval of Paul III. (Farnese), Loyola being unanimously elected General of the Order. Under the famous motto, 'Ad majorem Dei gloriam,' Ignatius organised a Company of Adventurers to make war on heresy and insubordination. The military basis of the Society suggests curious comparisons with the Knights Templars of the Crusades, and the modern Salvation Army. The Jesuits described themselves as 'a cohort combined for combat against spiritual foes; men-at-arms devoted, body and soul, to our Lord Jesus Christ and to his true and lawful Vicar upon earth.' They took the usual vows of chastity and poverty, common to all Catholic orders, but the mainspring of the new company was the old monastic virtue of obedience, to be carried out with a truly military completeness. The Jesuit was to do and to think what he was told to do and think, without hesitation or inquiry. Loyola left many explicit instructions on this point. Here are some of them :—'I ought to desire to be ruled by a superior who endeavours to subjugate my judgment and subdue my understanding.' . . . 'When it seems to me that I am commanded by my superior to do a thing against which my conscience revolts as sinful, and my superior judges otherwise, it is my duty to yield my doubts to him, unless I am constrained by evident reason.' . . . 'I ought not to be my own but His who created me, and his too through whom God governs me, yielding myself to be moulded in his hands like wax.' . . . 'If the Church pronounces a thing

which seems to us white to be black, we must immediately say that it is black.'

The company had instant and great success. In a very few years it had missionaries in every part of the world, and it was soon recognised in Europe as the most powerful of all the moral forces arrayed on the side of the Catholic religion. The Jesuits had a large share in the final decisions of the Council of Trent—a Council collected for the purpose of reform, which ended in formulating doctrines and practices which had grown up since the days of the great General Councils, but had never yet been officially approved. The great object of the Jesuits was the enforcement of orthodoxy. They regarded all means as fair in their war against heterodox opinions. Loyola said, 'I have made myself all things to all men,' *Ad majorem Dei gloriam* (For the greater glory of God)—a formula which makes all acts permissible, provided they achieve this aim. They built their whole system of education upon the virtue of obedience, and the theory that the end justifies the means. Symonds says: 'Art, science, literature, religion, morality and politics, all suffered from their interference. By preferring artifice to reality, affectation to sincerity, shams and subterfuges to plain principle and candour, they confused the conscience and enfeebled the intellect of Europe. When we speak of the Jesuit style in architecture, rhetoric and poetry, of Jesuit learning and scholarship, of Jesuit casuistry and of Jesuit diplomacy, it is either with languid contempt for bad taste and insipidity, or with the burning indignation which systematic falsehood and corruption inspire in honourable minds.'

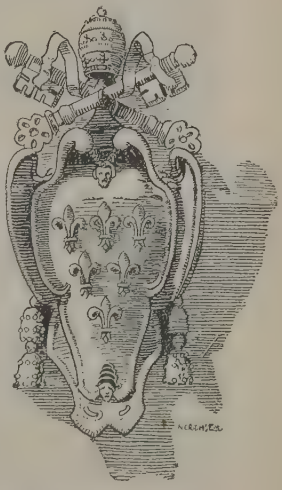
The Jesuits became too powerful. They were expelled from Venice in 1606, from Bohemia in 1618, Naples and the Netherlands in 1622, Russia in 1676, Portugal in 1759, France in 1764, and Spain in 1767;

the Order was suppressed in 1773 by Clement XIV., but restored in 1814 by Pius VII. The Anti-Jesuit Popes, Sixtus V., Urban VII. and Clement VIII., were all three supposed at the time to have been put to death by Jesuit agency, a striking testimony to the popular belief in the power and the methods of the Order.

When the Basilica of S. Paolo Fuori le Mura was destroyed by fire in 1823, one of the few objects saved from the flames was the medallion in mosaic of the Madonna, before which St. Ignatius Loyola with five companions made their vows on the 22nd April 1541. It is now in the Chapel of the Crucifix in the new basilica. Shortly after the death of Loyola, the little chapel in which he had preached was pulled down, and the church known as the Gesu erected on the site. It is a large building in the baroque style of its architect, Vignola. The body of the saint lies under the high altar. Noted musical services are performed in this popular church on the 31st December, the 31st July (the festival of St. Ignatius), and during the Quarant' ore, the two last days of the Carnival. In No. 1 Via di Ara Cœli are the rooms in which St. Ignatius lived and died.

In their efforts to suppress heresy, the Jesuits were greatly assisted by the Inquisition. The old Dominican Inquisition had become obsolete and ineffective, when in 1483 the powers of the Holy Office were greatly extended in Spain by the Inquisitor-General of Castile and Arragon, Thomas of Torquemada. The Inquisition established a reign of terror in Spain, clearing the country by banishment, or burning, of three million inhabitants in the first hundred and forty years of its renovated existence. An *auto-da-fé*, or burning on one common pile of a number of living victims, together with condemned corpses, and effigies of heretics whose bodies could not be obtained, became a common sight, which the people enjoyed as much as they had done

the gladiatorial shows in Pagan times. In 1542 the Inquisition was restored in Rome. It was not nearly so severe or so powerful as in Spain, but every year a number of heretics were publicly burned in the city. The Congregation of the Holy Office would meet in the church of S. M. Sopra Minerva, and the burnings take place in the square in front, or in the Campo dei Fiori.



ARMS OF PAUL III. (FARNESE)

One of the most famous of the victims was Giordano Bruno, a monk who refused to repudiate his belief in the Copernican system. After an imprisonment of seven years, Bruno was declared an impenitent and obstinate heretic, and handed over to the civil authority, with the usual injunction that 'he should be punished as leniently as possible, and without shedding of blood,' the disgusting formula used to indicate death by fire. On hearing his sentence, Bruno said, 'Peradventure ye pronounce this sentence with a greater fear than I receive it.' It was the year 1600 (Jubilee year), Rome being crowded with pilgrims. 'At this time,' says Berti, his biographer, 'while it might have seemed that all hearts ought to have been inclined to mercy, and attracted longingly to the gentle Redeemer of humanity, the poor philosopher of Nola, preceded and

followed by crowds of people, accompanied by priests carrying crucifixes, and escorted by soldiers, was wending his way to the Campo dei Fiori to die for freedom and the rights of conscience. As the lonely thinker—the disciple and worshipper of the Infinite—passed through the streets clothed in the San Benito, but with head erect, and haughty, fearless glance, what thoughts must have passed through his mind! The feeling of utter isolation could not but have been felt by him. He must have found—it was the conclusion of his intellectual career—that he was alone in his researches, in his passionate quest for truth, in the inferences and conclusions he had laboriously wrought out. Sympathy with the crowds around him, who, no doubt, hooted the heretic in order to display their own orthodoxy, he was hardly likely to feel, except as a sentiment of pity for the ignorance and fanaticism of which he was only one victim among many.' When tied to the stake he declared that 'he died a martyr and willingly, even though his soul should not ascend to Paradise with the smoke of his fire, but that was of no consequence to him if he spoke the truth;' he bore the slow agonies of burning without a cry or moan, and when a crucifix was thrust before him, turned his head scornfully away.

Near the spot where he was burned, in the Campo dei Fiori, a bronze statue was erected to his memory in 1889. It contains eight medallions to the champions of religious freedom, of whom the most notable are Paolo Sarpi, John Wycliffe and John Huss. On the 17th February 1900, the tercentenary of the burning of Bruno, the statue was surrounded with floral wreaths. The unveiling of this statue produced a public remonstrance from Leo XIII., on the ground that Bruno's writings were subversive of morality. But if any proof were required of the not surprising nor exceptionally

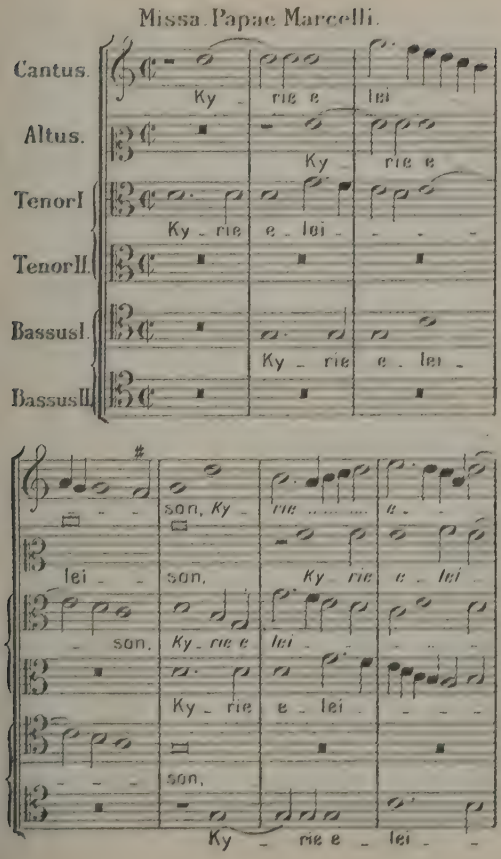
heinous fact (considering the times) that he was burned for his scientific opinions, it would be furnished by the treatment, a few years later, of a greater man, Galileo. Eleven years after the death of Bruno, Galileo was received with distinction at Rome, but he also ultimately offended the Inquisition, and was forced, by fear of sharing Bruno's fate, to denounce the Copernican system and to declare that the earth does not move round the sun. It was not till 1761 that the legend arose that, immediately after his recantation, he added, *sotto voce*, 'E pur si muove.'

In its efforts to stifle freedom of thought the Inquisition added to imprisonment and fire, the destruction of literature. In 1543 it was made a penal offence to possess any book which had not passed the censorship. In 1559, under Paul IV. (Caraffa), the list of condemned writings took its present form, known as the Index of Condemned Books. The suppression of books was carried out in the most searching and thorough manner. Even admittedly harmless books were destroyed if they were written or published by a suspected heretic. It is needless to enlarge upon the subject. Italian literature suffered severely. The last Italian poet, Torquato Tasso, was driven mad by fear that the Holy Office would censor his masterpiece, *Gerusalemme Liberata*, a romantic poem in praise of Tancred and the first Crusade.

After seven years of confinement, Tasso was sufficiently recovered from his mental disorders to be released, and spent much of his later life in Rome. In 1595 Clement VIII. awarded him a pension and made preparations for crowning him as Poet-Laureate on the Capitol. But first bad weather, and then the fatal illness of the poet, put an end to the project. From his dwelling in the Vatican, Tasso had been accustomed to wander over the Janiculan Hill, where he was often to

be found in a quiet spot under an oak tree. There are superb views of St. Peter's, Monte Mario, the Tiber, the Sabine Mountains and the great city from this position. When Tasso felt that his last illness was upon him he asked to be taken in at the convent of S. Onofrio, whence he could sometimes be carried to his favourite haunt to gaze upon the wonderful scene below. On his death, the laurel which had been prepared for the coronation was placed upon the brow of the corpse, which was then carried in solemn procession through the Borgo and back again to S. Onofrio, and there buried. The church contains a modern monument to his memory; and in the convent the room is shown where the poet died, with a model in wax taken from a cast of his face.

One of the arts fortunately escaped the repressive measures of the counter Reformation. The genius of Palestrina saved Church music from the hostile threats of the Tridentine Council, and thereby warded off a severe blow directed at music itself. The simple unison singing of S. Ambrose and S. Gregory the Great had in time given way to contrapuntal elaborations of any plain melody, too frequently a vulgar street tune. The frivolous tone thus given to the choral service reached, at last, a shocking, almost incredible scandal. While one part of the choir sang the words of the mass, the other was actually uttering the words of the song whose melody had been adopted. The Council of Trent, in its haste to stop such disgraceful proceedings, decreed the total abolition of all Church music. At this crisis Palestrina, the choirmaster at the Basilica of S. M. Maggiore, composed the 'Missa Papæ Marcelli,' dedicated to the short-lived Pope Marcellus II. (died 1555). It was at once recognised as containing the requisite qualities. It was devotional, and yet attractive; though the reverse of frivolous, it was not regarded, in that age, as dull.


Missa Papae Marcelli.
Cantus.
Altus.
Tenor I
Tenor II
Bassus I.
Bassus II.
Ky - rie e - lei
Ky - rie e
Ky - rie e - lei -
Ky - rie e - lei -
son, Ky - rie ..... e -
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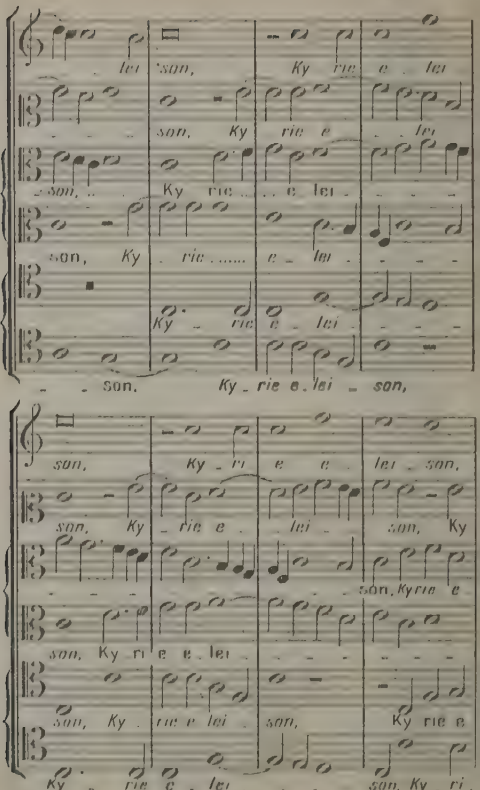
lei son, Ky rie e lei
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son, Ky rie e lei son,
son, Ky ri e e lei son,
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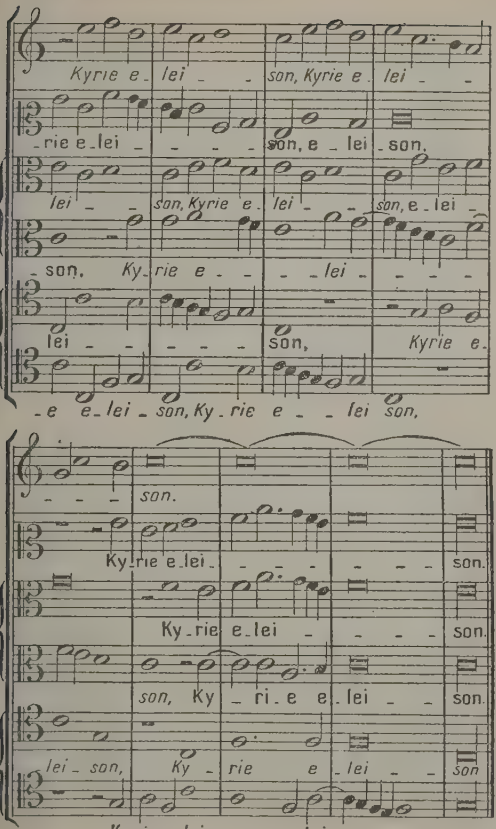

Kyrie e - lei - son, Kyrie e - lei -
- rie e - lei - son, e - lei - son,
lei - son, Kyrie e - lei - son, e - lei -
- son, Ky - rie e - lei -
lei - son, Kyrie e -
- e e - lei - son, Ky - rie e - lei son,
son.
Ky - rie e - lei - son.
Ky - rie e - lei - son.
son, Ky - ri - e e - lei - son.
lei - son, Ky - rie e - lei - son
Ky - rie e - lei - son, e - lei - son.

Some of the great events affecting the Catholic revival in the latter half of the sixteenth century require mention. In 1571 was fought the naval battle of Lepanto, in which the Turks were defeated by the combined force led by Don John of Austria and Marcantonio Colonna. There is a painting of the battle on the ceiling of the Great Hall of the Colonna Palace, and another in the Sala Regia of the Vatican. There also is a fresco representing the triumph of the Church by means of the Massacre of St. Bartholomew in 1572, when large numbers of Protestants were murdered in France. In 1585 Sixtus V. was elected Pope. In 1588 the Spanish Armada was dispersed. In 1589 Henry of Navarre was King of France; in 1593 he became a Catholic; in 1598 he issued the Edict of Nantes, which gave Protestants liberty of conscience in his kingdom.

The story of Sixtus V. requires further notice. Piergentile Peretti, while cultivating his oranges and olives in his small garden between the villages of Grottamare and Montalto, south of Ancona, carried a strange idea in his head. Though as yet childless, he was convinced that he was destined to be the father of a pope. When a son was born to him on December 13, 1521, he signalised the first step towards the realisation of his ambition by naming the child Felix. At the age of twelve Felix entered the Franciscan order. He grew up as ambitious for himself as his father had been for him, with unlimited confidence in his destiny. Born a candidate for the Papacy, he continued throughout his career to regard himself in that light. At length his powerful sermons in the church of the Apostles at Rome began to attract the attention of the chief clerics of the time—amongst them St. Ignatius Loyola, St. Philip Neri, and Cardinal Ghislieri, afterwards St. Pius V. From that time

his promotion was rapid, and when Pius made him a cardinal the Papacy seemed within his grasp. But the election of his enemy, Buoncompagni, as Gregory XIII., in 1572, was a heavy blow. Out of favour, even in disgrace, Cardinal Peretti found occupation in the erection of a villa and the culture of a vineyard on the slopes of the Esquiline. The Villa Peretti, afterwards known as the Villa Massimi, or the Villa Negroni, was destroyed, together with the remains of the classic Villa of Mæcenas, in the same locality, by order of the municipality of Rome, in 1874 and subsequent years. Here the life of the cardinal, during the Papacy of Gregory XIII., was one of seclusion and retirement. He was waiting, patiently waiting, for the death of the aged Pope. When that hoped-for event at last occurred, the behaviour of Peretti in the Conclave was as quiet and unobtrusive as so proud and aggressive a nature could make it. As soon as he was elected Pope his manner completely changed. He let it be seen at once that he intended to rule the temporal and spiritual provinces under his care with a rod of iron. The Sacred College was entrapped into the election, and regretted their action as soon as they saw Sixtus V. on the throne. No man of such resolute will and fearless originality has since been seen in the Papal chair. Queen Elizabeth, with a woman's admiration for a masterful disposition, on being urged to choose a husband, replied, with a smile, 'I know of but one man who is worthy of my hand, and that man is Sixtus V.'

It was this startling change between the cardinal and the Pope which gave rise to the well-known legend that Cardinal Peretti feigned sickness and old age during the Conclave, going about feebly with bent figure, supported by crutches; and that, immediately his election was accomplished, he drew himself straight,

flung away his crutches, and announced in a voice of thunder, to the terror-stricken cardinals, that he intended to be implicitly obeyed in everything. False in literal fact, the story has an entirely accurate symbolic meaning. Within a few hours of his election the new Pope created a panic in all evil-doers by an act of extravagant severity. Four young brothers, who had been employed to keep order in Rome during the usual orgy of robbery and murder which always broke out between the death of one pope and the election of another, were found still carrying their arms, a few hours after the election of Sixtus V. Their excuse for not having laid them down on hearing of the election of a Pope, was that order had not been re-established and that their own lives were in danger. Doubtless this was true. But the carrying of arms was, according to a law which was never enforced, a capital offence. Sixtus V. ordered these poor lads to be immediately hanged on the bridge of St. Angelo. Hitherto no execution had ever taken place in the interval between the election and the coronation of a pope. To all expostulations he merely replied, 'While I live, every criminal must die.' In truth, the lawless condition of Rome was such that no life—not even that of the pope himself—was safe at any time of the day, or in any part of the city. The States of the Church were overrun by organised forces of banditti under the command of Alphonso Piccolomini, of Lambert Malatesta, of the priest Guercino, and other outlaws.

These soldiers of fortune, called *fuorusciti*, were the successors of the *condottieri* who had served with Hawkwood, Sforza and Braccio. They found their way into the towns, and were patronised by the nobility, who could not afford to offend them. Every Roman noble or cardinal had in his pay a number of hired assassins, or *bravi*, who defied all authority, whether of

the Pope or the Municipality. It was the darling ambition of every spirited young aristocrat to murder a policeman, if possible the head of the *sbirri* (police), the *bargello* himself. In one of these conflicts between the nobility and the sbirri, Cardinal Peretti, present by accident, barely escaped with his life. The bargello had seized a bandit in the pay of the Orsini; on the way to the prison he and his police by chance met a party of young nobles on horseback, amongst them an Orsini, a Savelli, a Rusticucci and a Gætani, who instantly attacked the officials. Raimondo Orsini, Rusticucci, and others of the aristocratic party, besides several of the sbirri, and even the innocent cardinal's servant, were killed. The Orsini family demanded from the weak Pope Gregory XIII., and obtained, the execution of the bargello. The Pope was obliged to hang his chief of police for the offence of defending his own life against the murderous assault of a band of riotous nobles.

But the murder of Cardinal Peretti's servant was remembered by Sixtus V. To break down the alliance between the nobility and the *bravi* seemed impossible, but the very existence of the Papal Court at Rome was at stake, and Sixtus V., as Elizabeth had noted, was a man. When a cardinal complained of the arrest and imprisonment of a fellow-member of the Sacred College, the Pope said shortly: 'We intend to be obeyed here in Rome by all.' Sixtus V. saw, what few of his predecessors had realised, that the Papal power, whether spiritual or temporal, depended upon the position of the Papal authority in Rome itself. He began, where every Pope ought to have begun, by asserting his authority in the holy city. People soon learned that for every homicide there was an execution. Pasquino and Marforio had much to say about the new situation. They composed a dialogue for the statues of St. Peter and St. Paul on

the bridge of St. Angelo, spectators of many a hanging. St. Paul asked St. Peter why he carried a bundle upon his back, to which St. Peter replied that he had made up his mind to leave Rome, fearing to be hanged for having cut off Malchus's ear. The measures adopted by Sixtus V. were indeed merciless, almost ferocious. If the position was desperate the remedy applied was radical and savage. Success, however, may reasonably be pleaded in extenuation. Within a year both life and property were safe in Rome, and the banditti had been driven out of the Papal States.

As illustrating the social manners and morals of Rome and Italy during the Catholic reaction, it may be of interest to glance at the stories of Benvenuto Cellini, artist, and murderer; of the beautiful Vittoria Accoramboni; and of Shelley's heroine, Beatrice Cenci.

Benvenuto Cellini.

The autobiography of Cellini was first translated and made famous by Goethe. An excellent translation into English, with a preface by J. A. Symonds, was issued in 1887. Symonds describes one of the most interesting of all autobiographies thus:—'It is,' he says, 'no work of art or of reflection, but the plain utterance of a man who lived the whole life of his age, who felt its thirst for glory, who shared its adoration of the beautiful, who blent its Paganism and its superstitions, who represented its two main aspects of exquisite sensibility to form and almost brutal ruffianism.' Born at Florence in 1500, Benvenuto Cellini became the first goldsmith of his time. His ability as a sculptor is sufficiently evident by his bronze 'Perseus,' to be seen in the Loggia dei Lanzi of the Piazza della Signoria at Florence. Of his success as a lover, a courtier and

an assassin he continually boasts. How many men he killed we shall never know. In fair warfare, he declares that it was his shot that caused the death of Bourbon in the assault upon Rome, and boasts of having killed many persons, after the enemy had entered, by firing the cannon on the Castle of St. Angelo. Of actual murders he relates only the three which gave him the most pleasure to look back upon.

His first admitted murder occurred in this way. The *bargello* at Rome was taking a malefactor to prison when an attempt was made to rescue him, which ended in failure and the death of one of the assailants, a youth named Bertino Aldobrandini, the dear friend of Benvenuto's brother, Cecchino. On hearing the fate which had befallen his comrade, Cecchino ran amuck at the guard, killed the official who had dealt Aldobrandini his death wound, and was himself fatally wounded by another. Benvenuto admits that this man acted in self-defence, and only just in time to save himself from the blow which his brother was preparing for him. When his brother was dead, Benvenuto resolved to kill the policeman who had struck him down. 'When I saw that the fever caused by always seeing him about was depriving me of sleep and appetite, and was bringing me by degrees to sorry plight, I overcame my repugnance to so low and not quite praiseworthy an enterprise, and made up my mind one evening to rid myself of the torment. The fellow lived in a house near a place called Torre Sanguigna' (near the Piazza Navona), 'next door to the lodging of one of the most fashionable courtesans in Rome, named Signora Antea. It had just struck twenty-four' (sunset), 'and he was standing at the house door, with his sword in hand, having risen from supper. With great address I stole up to him, holding a large Pistojan dagger, and dealt him a back-handed stroke, with which I meant to cut

his head clean off; but as he turned round very suddenly the blow fell upon the point of his left shoulder and broke the bone. He sprang up, dropped his sword, half stunned with the great pain, and took to flight. I followed after, and in four steps caught him up, when I lifted my dagger above his head, which he was holding very low, and hit him in the back, exactly at the junction of the nape bone and the neck. The poniard entered this point so deep into the bone that, though I used all my strength to pull it out, I was not able, for just at that moment four soldiers with drawn swords sprang out from Antea's lodging, and obliged me to set hand to my own sword to defend my life. Leaving the poniard then, I made off, and, fearing I might be recognised, took refuge in the palace of Duke Alessandro, which was between Piazzo Navona and the Rotunda' (the Pantheon). 'On my arrival I asked to see the duke, who told me that, if I was alone, I need only keep quiet and have no further anxiety, but go on working at the jewel which the Pope had set his heart on, and stay eight days indoors. He gave this advice the more securely because the soldiers had now arrived who interrupted the completion of my deed; they held the dagger in their hand, and were relating how the matter happened, and the great trouble they had to pull the weapon from the neck and head-bone of the man, whose name they did not know. Just then Giovan Bandini came up and said to them, "That poniard is mine, and I lent it to Benvenuto, who was bent on revenging his brother." The soldiers were profuse in their expressions of regret at having interrupted me, although my vengeance had been amply satisfied.'

It is evident that Cellini enjoyed the act of killing, and was proud of such achievements. He could not have guessed that posterity would read his autobiography for its sensation, and regard with horror the

acts whose relation provides so much entertainment. On being upbraided for his murders by the sculptor Bandinelli, he replied, 'At anyrate, the men I have killed do not shame me so much as your bad statues shame you; for the earth covers my victims, whereas yours are exposed to the view of the world.'

Cellini gained fame for his cleverness and determination in escaping from the Castle of St. Angelo, where he had been imprisoned for murdering Pompeo, a rival goldsmith. He stole a pair of pincers from a workman in the castle, and with them took off the hinges of the door of his cell. Then he climbed on to the roof and let himself down to the ground by a rope made of bands of linen torn from the sheets of his bed. He had still to scale two walls, which he did by means of a pole he luckily found at hand, but in descending the last wall he fell and broke his leg just above the ankle. He crawled on hands and knees towards the Borgo Vecchio, and was attacked and bitten by dogs, whom he had to beat off with his poniard. In the early morning, as he was scraping his way along, he fortunately came across a servant of Cardinal Cornaro, and was taken into the cardinal's house, where he remained until the Papal pardon had been obtained. Visitors to the Castle of St. Angelo are shown a cell which is said to be the identical one from which Cellini escaped.

Vittoria Accoramboni.

Vittoria, daughter of Claudio Accoramboni, was an exceptionally beautiful woman, and married at the age of sixteen to Felice Peretti, nephew of the future Pope. Her brother Marcello, who had been outlawed for murder, was a favourite of Paolo Giordano Orsini, the powerful Duke of Bracciano. Marcello conceived the

idea of permanently establishing the fortunes of the family by marrying his sister to the duke. There were difficulties in carrying out the scheme. The husband could easily be removed. But the social gulf between the Accoramboni and the Orsini was a serious obstacle, and, in Symonds's phrase, 'It was an affair of delicacy to stimulate, without satisfying, the duke's passion.' The duke was a widower, having with his own hand killed his wife, Isabella de' Medici, on suspicion of adultery. Aged fifty, he was a man of great stature, enormously corpulent, and afflicted with an incurable disease. Vittoria's powers of attraction were such that she succeeded in obtaining from the duke a promise of marriage, to take place as soon as her husband had been got rid of. That was soon done. One night a certain Mancino, an outlaw who had been in the service of Peretti as *bravo*, brought his master a letter from Marcello, asking for immediate assistance in a great difficulty. Marcello knew he could rely upon the generous impulses of his brother-in-law. Peretti's wife, who knew of the plot, and wished him dead, shrank from definitely committing herself to the position of accomplice, and begged her husband not to risk the peril of a night adventure. But Peretti would not desert a friend, his wife's brother, and leaving her in tears, made for the indicated place of meeting on Monte Cavallo. Next morning his dead body was found there, close to the Sforza garden, now attached to the Palazzo Rospigliosi. A few days later Vittoria was secretly married to the Duke of Bracciano.

The Orsini family objected to the *mésalliance*, and prevailed upon Pope Gregory XIII. to annul the marriage. The duke would not give up his prize. He went through a public marriage ceremony with Vittoria. Gregory XIII. again declared it invalid, but died soon after. While the Conclave of Sixtus V. was sitting,

Bracciano was for a third time married to Vittoria. On hearing of the election of his wife's uncle, the duke hastened to pay his respects to the Holy Father, when his reception was such that he and Vittoria at once left Rome. A few months later he died suddenly and mysteriously, after having made large provision for his widow in his will. At Padua, Vittoria, a second time a widow, was joined by her late husband's kinsman, Prince Ludovico Orsini, a violent man of infamous character. As was inevitable, they quarrelled about the will. Ludovico decided to be rid of the widow, and sent his bravi to kill her. In the evening they forced their way into her house, where they found her at her devotions before retiring to rest. She had no protector. While others held her, one of the bravi undid her dress so as to expose the left breast, beneath which he pressed his dagger home, saying, 'Does it touch the heart? Tell me. Why do you not answer?'

The Paduans were loyal to their duchess. They surrounded the Orsini Palace and compelled Ludovico to capitulate. He was strangled in prison. Of his associates two were quartered alive, one of them, the actual murderer, having a dagger fixed up to the hilt in his heart; fifteen were hanged, and others sent to the galleys. Marcello, the originator of all the tragedy, was executed by order of Sixtus V.

When Shakespeare killed off all the chief characters at the end of a play, he was doubtless influenced by his knowledge of the Italian tragedies of the time.

Beatrice Cenci.

Francesco Cenci was the son of Monsignore Cenci by a married woman, and was born in the lifetime of the lady's husband. His father left him great wealth.

He was a man of violent passions, who committed many crimes. He suffered one short term of imprisonment, and was outlawed for a time, but usually succeeded in compounding for his misdeeds by the payment of fines. His children were like their father. One son was murdered in the course of an intrigue with a married woman; another came to a merited end in a brawl; the eldest, Giacomo, was a professional forger; and the youngest daughter, Beatrice, though unmarried, had given birth to a child.

Cenci treated his children cruelly, and they hated him with all the strength of their lawless, violent natures. At last Giacomo the eldest, Bernardo the youngest, Beatrice, the priest Guerco, her intimate friend—probably her lover—and the second wife, Lucrezia, all joined in a scheme for killing the head of the house. He was a bad father, and rich. An assassin's fee was small.

They employed two bravi, Olimpio and Marzio, who entered Cenci's bedroom while he was asleep and drove a big nail through his eye into the brain. The body was thrown out of the window, its condition ascribed to an accidental fall, and it was hastily buried. But suspicion fell upon the culprits. Other bravi were instantly hired to kill the first pair, lest they should be caught, and tell the story. The new men did succeed in killing Olimpio, but Marzio fell into the clutches of the law, and, on being tortured, implicated the Cenci family. Upbraided by Beatrice for his confession, the poor wretch then recanted. He was again tortured, but persisted in denying what he had formerly said, though every form of physical agony was tried, until at last death put an end to his sufferings and his testimony. Meanwhile the brothers Giacomo and Bernardo had confessed under torture, but no pain could extract any admission from Beatrice. Unluckily the Cenci family

were not in a position to employ bravi to kill the bravi who had killed one of the bravi who had killed Francesco Cenci. One of these bravi was caught and his evidence confirmed the story originally told by Marzio. There was always this danger in the use of bravi, that unless they killed each other simultaneously the survivor was in a position to give evidence against his employer. For this reason the bolder spirits of the time did their own killing, which was safer and more economical.

When it was no longer possible to deny the truth, Beatrice at last also confessed, and the whole family were lodged in the Castle of St. Angelo. At the trial their advocate, Prospero Farinacci, unable to deny their guilt as parricides, brought forward a plea in mitigation of sentence, ascribing to the father an unnatural passion for his daughter Beatrice. Clement VIII. hesitated. At that inopportune moment one of the Santa Croce, a relative of the Cenci, murdered his own mother. The Pope's heart was hardened, and the Cenci family condemned to death. In 1599 the executions took place before an immense crowd in the small square opening from the bridge of St. Angelo, in front of the statues of SS. Peter and Paul. Lucrezia and Beatrice were first decapitated by a machine somewhat resembling the guillotine of later times. Then Giacomo was killed by a blow of the executioner's hammer, the body cut in four, and the pieces exposed on the bridge, together with the bodies and heads of Lucrezia and Beatrice. Bernardo, fainting with fear and horror, was, at the last, spared in consideration of his youth.

Beatrice was twenty-two years of age. No evidence now exists in support of her advocate's contention. There is a portrait of him standing in a doorway, painted on the wall of one of the rooms in the Castle

of St. Angelo. That the famous picture of a young girl in the Barberini gallery is a portrait of Beatrice Cenci, is most improbable. Guido Reni, to whom it has been ascribed, was not in Rome till some years after her death.

The Cenci estates were confiscated by the Pope. Paul V. (Borghese) gave a part of them, now the Villa Borghese and Park, to his nephews. They have recently been bought by the Government.

The name of Sixtus V. is associated with the Banditti, the Monti, the Congregations and the Obelisk. Having suppressed brigandage, the Pope set about the restoration of the Papal exchequer. Foreign tribute, since the Reformation, had fallen to small dimensions. Sixtus V. cut down the ordinary expenditure by one half, levied new taxes, made every applicant for office or promotion buy the situation he required, and established the system of the monti—the precursor of all national debts. When the Pope was in need of money he created a new office, a title with no duties, carrying a fixed salary, which the applicant bought by the payment of a round sum; thus the salary was a life annuity bought at the ordinary rate according to the value of money. The plan was extended by allowing the annuitant, for an extra payment, to nominate a successor to the office when it should be vacated by his death. In return for a loan, perpetual annuities were paid as interest, under the guise of salary.

Sixtus V. established the Congregations—committees of prelates appointed with a permanent organisation for certain defined purposes. Paul III. formed the first of these committees, under the title of the Congregation of the Holy Office, *i.e.*, the Inquisition. Sixtus V. extended them, giving them something of the form which they still maintain. The influence of these

councils, as directors of the Papal policy, has been greatly extended of late years.

When we remember that Peretti was Pope for only five years, it is remarkable what he achieved. The appearance of Rome he entirely transformed. His predecessors of the same century had all done something for Rome. Julius II. made the Via Giulia, Leo X. the Ripetta, Pius IV. the Via Pia, Paul III. the Via Paolina, Gregory XIII. the Via Gregoriana. Sixtus V. pulled down the old buildings of the Lateran, and erected the modern palace; he made the great flight of marble steps leading from the Piazza di Spagna to the church of Trinita dei Monti; he laid out the Via Felice and the streets which lead to S. Maria Maggiore, and connected the Lateran with the Colosseum. He moved the statues of the horse-tamers to their present position on Monte Cavallo. He was a great destroyer, ruthlessly pulling down any mediæval or classic building which stood in the way of a new street. He cared nothing for antiquity, demolished the Septizonium, and could scarcely be prevented from laying hands upon the tomb of Cecilia Metella. He converted the disused Aqua Marcia into the modern Acqua Felice; completed the Dome of St. Peter's in twenty-two months, a work which Rome had long since despaired of ever seeing finished; and achieved what was considered impossible—the erection of the obelisk before St. Peter's.

This success was regarded as one of the wonders of the world. The obelisk had stood in Caligula's circus. It had witnessed the Pagan games, the crucifixion of St. Peter, and the cruelties practised by Nero upon Christians. It was now lying half buried in the soil close to the sacristy on the western side of St. Peter's. The spot is passed by every visitor to the sculpture galleries of the Vatican. Paul III. had consulted Michel-

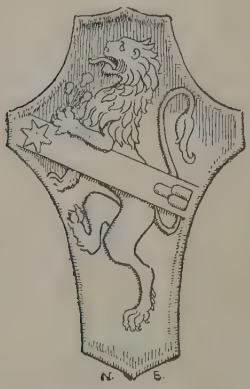
angelo and Sangallo as to the feasibility of removing the Needle to the Piazza of St. Peter's, and had received from both the reply that the scheme was impracticable. But no previous Pope had believed the suppression of the banditti, the reorganisation of the finances, or the completion of the Dome of St. Peter's to be possible achievements; and Sixtus V. soon showed that even a Pope may do great things if he have a little courage. He began, in the traditional manner where any great difficulty is to be surmounted, by appointing a commission to report; but when he found that its members were, in accordance with custom, applying the whole of their energy in quarrelling, tripping each other up, fighting for the ultimate job, the new broom swept them all away, and appointed a young friend of his own, Domenico Fontana, to plan and execute the undertaking. Fontana was given the two necessaries—ample funds and absolute power. These factors sufficed to build the Pyramids of Egypt, and it would have been a humiliation and disgrace for Europe if the head of the Christian religion had been unable to lift a monument which had been brought across the sea, and raised in Rome, by the Pagans of sixteen centuries back. But since their time the world had passed through the darkness of the barbarian invasions, and it was only beginning to be conscious of the restored powers which had come to it since the Renaissance. As the young architect gradually accumulated his materials—immense beams of wood, large pieces of iron, miles of the thickest ropes—Rome became wild with excitement, and Europe greatly interested. When at last all the preparations had been completed, Fontana flung himself at the feet of the Holy Father and begged his blessing on the enterprise. The Pope seems to have felt that something more than pious wishes was necessary, for he gave Fontana to understand that any

accident or failure would be followed by his decapitation. On the eventful day all Rome crowded to the piazza, to see a large number of horses, and 900 men, tugging at the various ropes and pulleys. In order that Fontana's commands should be instantly heard by all his assistants, the onlookers were ordered to keep absolute silence on pain of death on the gallows, already erected, and unpleasantly noticeable in the piazza itself. When the obelisk had slowly been raised into a half erect position, it stopped, and would move no further. In the excitement of the moment a sailor from San Remo risked his head by shouting, 'Aiga, dai de l'aiga ae corde!' ('Water, give water to the ropes'). The police instantly seized the culprit and hurried him off to the nearest scaffold. But Fontana was not above taking a hint; water was poured on the ropes, which swelled and stiffened in time to raise the Needle, and save the sailor's life. He was presented to the Pope and rewarded, and San Remo has ever since enjoyed the privilege of supplying the palm branches on Palm Sunday for St. Peter's.

The placing of the obelisk in the piazza was not only a Papal triumph over difficulties which since the fall of Paganism had been considered insuperable. The Pagan monument was intentionally placed in a position where it should look crushed and insignificant beneath the giant façade of the Christian church, and the glorious dome towering above it. The erection of statues of St. Peter and St. Paul on the summit of the columns of Marcus Aurelius and Trajan was also designed to symbolise the triumph of Christianity over Paganism.

The general result of the energy of Sixtus V. on the appearance of Rome is shown by the letter of a contemporary. 'I am in Rome,' writes Padre Don

Angelo Grillo, 'after an absence of ten years, and do not recognise it, so new does all appear to me to be: monuments, streets, piazzas, fountains, aqueducts, obelisks, and other wonders, all the work of Sixtus V. If I were a poet I would say that, to the imperious sound of the trumpet of that great-hearted Pope, the wakened limbs of that half-buried and gigantic body which spreads over the Latin Campagna have replied —that, thanks to the power of that fervent and exuberant spirit, a new Rome has risen from its ashes.'



ARMS OF SIXTUS V (PERETTI)

FROM THE VILLA MEDICI

CHAPTER X

The Dome of St. Peter's

'Quand le génie Gothique s'est à jamais éteint à l'horizon de l'art, Michel-Ange avait eu une dernière idée, une idée de désespoir. Ce Titan de l'art avait entassé le Panthéon sur la Parthénon, et fait Saint Pierre de Rome.'

Victor Hugo, 'Notre Dame de Paris.'

THE Popes who succeeded Sixtus V. continued the building policy which had been commenced by Nicholas V. In the two and a half centuries between the middle of the fifteenth and the end of the seventeenth century, Rome gradually took the appearance she maintained until 1870. The streets were laid almost as they now are. The churches, which had fallen to a condition of decay which necessitated further destruction before any repairs could be attempted, were entirely transformed. In their present state Nicholas V. would scarcely recognise any one of them. While the churches were being restored, the Papal policy of

nepotism, begun by Martin V., produced new and powerful families, who expended the Papal gifts in the erection of great palaces and villas. Nepotism—the distribution of the income of the Catholic Church for the establishment of wealthy families in Rome—has had a very important influence upon the later prosperity of the city. What was meant for the world was given to Rome. To the old renowned Roman families—the Savelli, Conti, Orsini, Colonna and Gætani—were gradually added the Aldobrandini, Borghese, Ludovisi, Barberini, Pamfili, Chigi, Rospigliosi, each of them founded by a pope. Round the person of the Pope a ceaseless conflict raged between his own newly-ennobled relatives, the family of his predecessor, and the party that hoped to nominate his successor. The life of the Pope was the most important factor of the situation, for if he could survive a majority of the cardinals who elected him, the Sacred College, and with it the Papacy and all its patronage, would be in the hands of his nominees. Old age thus came to be the most necessary of all qualifications for the Papal candidate, no young or even middle-aged man having any chance of election. The advanced age of every Pope produced frequent elections, and kept the Sacred College in a condition of permanent intrigue. The Pope might die at any moment, and a Conclave seemed always to be imminent

The procedure of a Conclave, or assembly under key (*clavis*), was most carefully regulated, and is now as follows :—

When a pope dies, the Cardinal Camerlengo (chamberlain) is immediately summoned to certify the fact. Standing by the corpse, he calls out three times the baptismal name of the dead man, and taps three times with a silver hammer on the forehead. He then takes the Fisherman's ring from the stiff finger, and defaces it. This famous ring has upon it a seal repre-

senting St. Peter fishing from his boat. A new one is made for each Pope, with his name engraved on it. The Pope's body is then embalmed, the interior portion being deposited in a subterranean chamber in the church of SS. Vincenzo ed Anastasio, the Parish Church of the Quirinal, opposite the Fountain of Trevi. The body is taken to the Sistine Chapel, where it is dressed in full pontificals. It then lies in state for three days in the Chapel of the Sacrament in St. Peter's; and is afterwards placed in a coffin inside two others, and temporarily buried in a niche close to the tomb of Innocent VIII. in the Cappella del Coro. Since the Popes have left the Quirinal Palace the church of SS. Vincenzo ed Anastasio has lost its peculiar prerogative. The 'præcordia' of Pius IX. were taken to the Sagre Grotte Vaticane; and his body lies in S. Lorenzo Fuori. Leo XIII. is buried in the church of St. John Lateran.

The secretary of the Sacred College sends to each cardinal a notice of the death of the Pope, and the Conclave meets ten days after the death of the Pontiff. Sixtus V. fixed the Sacred College at seventy—six cardinal bishops, fifty cardinal priests, and fourteen cardinal deacons; but the full number is seldom reached. The cardinals who have arrived in Rome proceed on the morning of the eleventh day to the Basilica of St. Peter, where the Cardinal Dean celebrates Mass. Then they enter the Chapel of the Conclave, and once having entered are not permitted to leave—except in case of serious illness—until a Pope is elected.

During the first day the public have free access to the rooms of the Conclave until three hours after sunset, when with the call of *Exeunt Omnes* all are excluded. Each cardinal then enters his cubicle or cell, over which at the entrance his coat of arms is displayed. In the rooms set apart for the Conclave all the windows and

doors are blocked up, with the exception of one, or perhaps two, windows for air and light, and one door for the exit of a sick cardinal or the entrance of a late arrival. The key of the inside lock of this door is kept by the Cardinal Camerlengo, of the outside by the Governor or Marshal of the Conclave, a hereditary office vested in one of the noble Roman families. From the thirteenth century onwards the Savelli held this honour, till the family became extinct, when Clement XI. conferred it upon the Chigi, who still retain it. Each cardinal takes into the Conclave two secretaries, officials who have great opportunities for intrigue, and exert a potent influence on the election. There are many other attendants locked up with the cardinals. Formerly they had the right, on an election being completed, of sacking the new Pope's apartments, but that form of remuneration has now been superseded by a fixed sum of money The doors outside are watched by a guard of prelates—patriarchs, archbishops and bishops. Formerly each cardinal's food was brought, ready cooked, in the cardinal's carriage or by a servant on foot, and the assemblage of these gorgeous equipages and attendants in the piazza was one of the great sights of the Conclave. All food was carefully examined by persons specially appointed to see that no message was concealed in it; it was then passed to the Conclave apartments by means of a curious turning-box, the key of the inside being in the keeping of the master of the ceremonies, while that of the outside was kept by the prelate appointed by the outer guard.

Every detail seems to have been considered, and all possible events anticipated. Suppose, for instance, that all the cardinals were to die in the Conclave before a Pope had been elected, it is held that the election would devolve upon the canons of the Basilica of St. John Lateran, the Cathedral of Rome.

The actual election is by voting papers. Each cardinal is supplied with a ticket, on which he writes the name of the candidate he favours, and his own name on the back. Then he folds the paper so that the front only can be seen, and affixes his seal at the back. The papers are then placed in a large vase in the shape of a chalice, which stands on the altar of the Conclave chapel. From this receptacle they are taken by scrutineers, who hand them to other scrutineers, who read out the names on the front. If any cardinal has received two-thirds plus one of all the votes he is elected. The addition of one is to nullify any vote which a cardinal may give for himself.

If no cardinal has received the requisite number of votes, the voting papers, mixed with a quantity of damp straw, are burned, and the thick smoke issuing from the chimney gives the populace outside the news that the morning ballot has failed. The next ballot takes place at two o'clock in the afternoon, and if the people then see a thin smoke issuing from the chimney they know that the voting papers were burned without straw, and that they have a Pope. Presently the first cardinal deacon appears on the balcony over the entrance to the Vatican Palace, and says: 'Nuntio vobis gaudium magnum; habemus pontificem, eminentissimum N——, qui nomen imposuit ——' ('I announce to you a great joy; we have a Pope, the Most Eminent N——, who has taken the name of ——'). The Sacred College has the power of electing any person, whether clerical or lay; but it has long been the custom to choose a cardinal.

Three countries—Austria, Spain and France—have each acquired the right of one objection, or veto, to an election. In 1831 Cardinal Giustiani, who had already received many votes, was excluded by the veto of Spain. In 1846 Pius IX. would not have been elected if Cardinal Gaysruch, who had been sent by Austria to

veto his election, travelling at the greatest speed of post horses, had arrived in time. At the conclave of Pius X., in 1903, Austria used the veto against Cardinal Rampolla. It is difficult to say what effect, if any, this had upon the ultimate election.

Endless are the stories of the fraud and the violence which have been employed in the Conclaves. One of the most characteristic is told of the young Cardinal Cibo, who, aged only twenty-seven, had of course no chance of election. At the Conclave of Adrian VI. he was ill and unable to leave his cubicle. He asked each cardinal in turn to visit him, and begged him, merely as a consolation, for his one vote at the next scrutiny. It would always be a source of pride to him if he could say that he had obtained one vote. By this appeal 'ad misericordiam' he obtained the promise of enough votes to give him the Papacy, when unfortunately the vigilant Cardinal Colonna discovered and published the plot, to the consternation and amusement of all.

Many cardinals have been raised to that dignity when still children, a fact which may help to account for the boyish pranks for which the Conclaves have such a reputation. No cardinal can be deprived of his vote on any pretext. The Conclave has sometimes had to put up with the presence of a criminal cardinal, released from prison in order that he may vote.

The frequent elections, with their rapid changes of authority, gave a fluctuating, unsettled character to the population of the city. Every man depended for his livelihood upon the patronage of the Papal Court, but for which there would have been no trade or employment, or even—presumably—any city at all. Besides those who supported themselves by supplying the wants of the Church and the Papal nobility, Rome always

contained a large number of strangers seeking for office, either from the reigning Pope or his successor. Every day saw the departure of the disappointed, and the arrival of fresh applicants. But when, towards the end of the seventeenth century, many rich and powerful families had been established, when the Thirty Years' War had come to an end, and the counter Reformation had been completed, when internal discord and foreign conflict both had ceased, Rome gradually acquired a settled population, and became once more a centre of art, culture, and refined society. A visit to Rome became a necessary part of polite education.

The history of the city in the nineteenth century may briefly be related. Napoleon declared the temporal sovereignty of the Pope abolished. But, like Charles V. after the sack in 1527, he finally came to the conclusion that he could make use of the Papacy. He restored Pius VII. and, in imitation of Charlemagne, was crowned by him, but at Paris, not at Rome. His son, 'l'Aiglon,' was designated King of Rome. In 1848 Pius IX. was driven out of Rome by a revolution, and a Republic was established, which divested the Pope of all temporal power. Marshal Oudinot, at the head of French troops, forced his way into the city after a bombardment of the walls, and when order had been restored, the Pope returned. In 1870 the Franco-Prussian War caused the withdrawal of the French soldiers, who were immediately replaced by those of Victor Emmanuel II. Rome became the capital of Italy, and the Pope retired into the Vatican, whence he has not since issued. The Government occupied all the Papal possessions with the exception of the Vatican and a few official buildings, the Lateran, S. Maria Maggiore, and the villa of Castel Gandolfo near Albano; and awarded the Pope an annuity of £130,000 per annum, which has

never been accepted. Without interfering in the Pope's use of these quarters and buildings, the Italian Government claims that they belong to the Crown, and has asserted its right, and, if necessary, its intention, to occupy the Vatican at any time when disorders may be in prospect.

The Pope is now seldom visible. Permission to attend the indoor Papal ceremonies is eagerly sought and hard to obtain. Except in St. Peter's, where the Papal appearances are rare, there is no adequate space for a large number of visitors. The Sistine Chapel and the Pope's private chapel, can accommodate very few beyond the officials. Even before 1870, only by special favour was permission given to attend one of the Papal functions. Pasquino long before had voiced a general Roman complaint, in his conversation between a Roman citizen and a Protestant foreigner. 'Where go you to-day dressed so fine?' said the Roman. The foreigner replied, 'I am to see the Pope in the Sistine Chapel. Why do you not come?' To which the Roman answered, 'Because all the tickets for admission are given to Protestants and foreigners.'

The Pope's costume varies with time and place, and his wardrobe is large. Until the election of St. Pius V. (Ghislieri) in 1566, the dress was red, but that Pope belonged to the White Dominicans, and continuing as Pope to wear that colour, set the fashion which has since been retained. The Pope's cap, cape and shoes are still red, except at Easter, when they also turn white.

When officiating at great ecclesiastical functions the Pope wears a mitre like any other bishop, but otherwise, on State occasions, he appears in the tiara, a white conical-shaped hat, with three gold crowns encircling it, one above the other. The double crown was adopted soon after the time of Charlemagne, and

expressed the Papal intention of being supreme as well in temporal as in spiritual matters. The third crown was added by the arrogant Boniface VIII. At important functions the Pope is carried by twelve men in the chair called the *sedia gestatoria*, while on each side an official bears aloft a huge fan of ostrich feathers at the end of a long red pole.

In 1866 the scandalous condition of the Italian monastic houses led to their suppression and confiscation, to the number of over two thousand, by the Italian Government. The State did summarily what the Church should have done gradually. Pius IX. remarked, 'It was the devil's work, but the good God will turn it into a blessing, since their destruction was the only reform possible.' Monks, friars and nuns still exist in large numbers, and live together, though their houses are not recognised by the Government as monasteries or convents. In Rome there are many in the Suburra, in Trastevere, and on the Cælian Hill. They give to the modernised town almost its only mediæval feature. The different fraternities may be distinguished from each other by their dress, but the variations are numerous as to form and colour of habit, scapular, hood, rosary, hat, cord, tassel and foot-gear. Of monks, the habit of the parent order, the Benedictine, is black; the Cistercians and Trappists have a white habit with black scapular; the Carthusians and Camaldolese are all white. The Franciscan Minor wears a habit which was originally designated grey, is now described as brown, and is, in fact, maroon, the Minor Capuchin and Poor Clare being brown. The Franciscan Minor Conventual is in black. All Franciscans wear a coarse woollen material which is tied round the waist with a white cord. The Dominican wears a white habit and scapular, with a black cloak. The Carmelite is in brown, with a white cloak. The

Augustinian wears white indoors, but black out of doors, with a leather belt, of which a strip hangs down. The Sisters of Charity (Filles de la Charité) of St. Vincent de Paul wear a blue gown, a blue apron, and a stiff white hat of peculiar shape, called the cornette. The Passionists wear a black habit and black cloak, having embroidered upon them a heart below a cross, in white. The simplest rules are that no monk wears a rosary, and that Franciscans alone wear the white cord.

The picturesque costume of the Swiss Guard was designed by Michelangelo. These fine soldiers have been devoted defenders of their employer. On two occasions they have fought to protect the Pope until all, or nearly all, were killed. It seems probable that they may be disbanded, and their place as personal body-guard to the Pope, taken by Italians, though the costume will doubtless be retained.

Until 1870 the Roman was a true child of Rome. Though the town was once entirely deserted, and again, eight centuries later, reduced to a minute population, the *genius loci*, the spirit of the place, infected all new arrivals, who soon learnt to do at Rome as the Romans did. Since that date the city has grown so enormously that now a large number of the inhabitants are Italians first and Romans afterwards. A great indigenous population has grown up, whose character is affected by the novel conditions, by the self-government which Rome has now obtained after the struggles of many centuries, and by the rapid communication with the outside world which is so important a feature of modern civic development.

The old Roman was a lazy, superstitious, vagabond. Rather than work, he would beg, or steal, or even kill. *Panis et circenses* were his right. When the Pagan triumphs, games, and gladiatorial displays, had come to

an end, the Church found it necessary to propitiate him with gorgeous ceremonies and splendid processions. The Church functions were made as ornate and attractive as possible, and great pageants were exhibited, in the processions of emperor and Pope, in the Miracle and Passion plays, in the burnings of heretics or public hangings and quarterings of criminals, and in the races and sports of the Carnival. Nothing of all this remains. Except for an occasional review of troops, as on the king's birthday, or a big funeral, there are no longer any free outdoor spectacles. Even the Carnival is now merely an excuse for juvenile masquerades.

THE BAMBINO OF THE ARA CŒLI

Between Christmas and Epiphany the Church of the Ara Cœli exhibits a *presepio* or manger, in which are figures of the Madonna and Child, St. Joseph, an ox, an ass, cherubs and angels; while in another part of the church, on a raised platform, children recite compositions relating to the Nativity. This church contains the miracle-working *Santissimo Bambino*, a doll carved by a Franciscan pilgrim in the Holy Land, from the wood of a tree growing on the Mount of Olives. The bambino is famed for its miraculous powers of curing the sick, and is covered with jewels and votive ornaments presented by the grateful persons whom it has restored to health. Not only the poor and ignorant believe in its powers. Only a few months have passed since it was taken to the bedside of a dying cardinal,

though without ameliorating effect. One of the Roman newspapers which chronicled this event added the remark: 'Quanto a noi, riteniamo superflui i commenti: li farà da sè l'intelligente lettore.'

Twelfth Night is also celebrated by a toy fair, the *Befana* (Epiphany). The steps leading up to the Ara Cœli are covered with vendors of playthings for children, especially whistles and trumpets and similar instruments of torture. But the *Befana* is more uproarious in the Piazza Navona in the evening—a place to be avoided at that time by all who have sensitive ears.

The post-classic Roman was not fed at the cost of the State, as his ancestor had been, but his right to be kept alive without doing work was recognised, and found expression in the institution of begging, which has always been encouraged by the Roman Church. Recently the Municipality has done something to abate the nuisance, but the complete eradication of all beggars would seem to be impossible. It may be well to mention that practically all beggars are professionals, and that many of the unpleasant physical ailments which they exhibit have been intentionally created, for the sake of their value as a monetary speculation.

Even more averse to work than are other Italians, the Roman is a natural gambler. *Morra* is his favourite game. It is said to have been played by the Egyptians 2000 years before the Christian era. The two players stand squarely in front of each other, holding the right hand behind the back; each shows his hand at the same moment, having one or more fingers exposed and the rest concealed, and cries out the number which he guesses his exposed fingers, added to those exposed by his adversary, will total. If he is right and his opponent's guess is wrong, he gains

Ponte
Garibaldi
Tiberine
Island
Ponte
Palatino
Lungotevere Vallati
Lungotevere Sanzio
Lungotevere Anguillara
Lungotevere dei Cenci
Via del Plebiscito
Via Nazionale
Monument
Victor Emanuel
Ministry
of Posts
Corso Vittorio Emanuele
Via del Tebaldi
Via della Lungara
Viale del Re
Via dei Fienili
Via dei Mastai
Via della Scala
Via della Luce
Via dei Fratte
Via della Scrofa
Via della Tribuna
Via del Gesù
Via del Collegio Romano
Via del Corso
Via della Vite
Via della Minerva
Via della Pace
Via della Botteghe Oscure
Via del Teatro Argentina
Via del Teatro Valle
Via del Pellegrino
Via del Banco di S. Spirito
Via Giulia
Via Arenula
Via Florida
Via Giulia
Via Ripetta
Via Flaminia
Via Lata
Via Cavour
Via Nazionale
Via Quattro Fontane
Via Venti Settembre
Via Agostino Depretis
Via Alessandro Volta
Via Ostiense
Via Marmorata
Via Aventina
Via Ostiense
Via Portuense
Via Trastevere
Via Ripa
Via della Lungara

point. They both shout very loud, play at surprising peed, and become greatly excited. Cheating is not so asy as one would suppose, but that it is frequently ttempted and achieved is shown by the old saying that man's honesty is such that one might safely play *norra* with him in the dark—'Dignus est quicum n tenebris mices.' That must refer to a form f the game in which only one hand is counted. Cicero mentions *micatio*, and Varro describes it as ow played.

Bowls, and quoits with pieces of flat stone, are played vherever there is an open space. Marks of the games layed with knucklebones or dice in classic times, are till visible in the circles cut on the pavement of the Basilica Julia in the Forum.

But the lottery is the great outlet for gambling in- tincts. In all parts of the city one comes across the placards, on which are marked five numbers, announc- ng the result of the week's drawing. Practically very Roman, man or woman, has from time to time a icket in the lottery. Some of them lay aside a regular art of their weekly earnings for the purpose. They ry to dream of lucky numbers, or buy books which isclose the secret. The lottery dictionary gives the ucky number for all events or ideas. The modern Roman believes in dreams and auguries as firmly as did is classic ancestor. He retains all the old superstitions with regard to Friday, the evil eye, the number hirteen, and countless other equally sensational facts. The wealthy and educated are not free from these antique, ut still fashionable, beliefs. Even the modern visitor rom the cold and sceptical North will, before leaving Rome, throw a coin into the fountain of Trevi, whereby is return is assured.

Lazy and superstitious, the Roman was also a robber nd an assassin. Since 1870 there has been a great

change, but during the Papal *régime* there were many dark lanes in Rome, and lonely roads in the Campagna, which were not safe for respectable people. Probably no European town has such a record of murder. The shows of the amphitheatre, and in later times the weakness of the central authority, gave the inhabitants a taste for blood which was under no control. One is reminded of the former conditions by the suspicious habit, among the poorer classes, of keeping the door of an apartment locked to a visitor until his name and business have been ascertained. When he has rung the bell, a cautious voice from behind the barred door will say, 'Chi é,' to which he must reply, 'Amico,' or he has small chance of being admitted.

The old-fashioned part of Rome lies between the Corso and the Tiber, and in Trastevere on the other side of the river. A visit to that part of Rome might begin at the Piazza Colonna. The column was erected in honour of Marcus Aurelius during his lifetime, in imitation of the Column of Trajan. The reliefs represent events in the Marcomannic War. Piazza and column have become so intimately blended that a young Roman noble, on being asked by a visitor the name of the column, answered, 'That is the column of Piazza Colonna.' Beyond it is the Piazza Monte Citorio, with the Camera dei Deputati, the Italian House of Parliament, on the right. A new building has now been erected for the Parliament. In the centre of the piazza is an obelisk brought to Rome by Augustus. Turning south through the narrow Via della Guglia, and then to the left, we enter the Piazza di Pietra, where are the remains of the Temple of Neptune erected by Hadrian. Continuing to the end of the piazza, and then turning south (right) into the Piazza di S. Ignazio, before us is the large church of S. Ignazio; turning here to the

THE TREVI FOUNTAIN

right, the Via del Seminario brings us to the Piazza della Rotonda.

The Pantheon is unique in Rome—in the world—as a building which has been in use for nearly 1800 years and still retains its old walls and vaulting. The portico bears on the entablature an inscription with the name of Agrippa, but the rest of his building was entirely destroyed by fire, and Hadrian retained that part of the portico when he rebuilt the remainder. Urban VIII. in 1632 completed the spoliation commenced by the Eastern Emperor Constans II., taking from the roof the remaining bronze beams, and out of the material so obtained, Bernini cast the pillars which support the baldacchino of St. Peter's. The bronze doors, though greatly restored, are originals. The interior is remarkable for the round opening in the dome by which all light enters. The original building of Agrippa was erected out of compliment to Augustus, his patron and friend, as a temple to Mars, Venus and the other divine ancestors of Julius Cæsar; and Hadrian dedicated his building to the same object. The recesses in the walls, where now are Christian altars, may originally have contained the statues of Julius Cæsar, Mars, Venus and other gods.

The Pantheon was consecrated as a Christian church by Boniface IV. in 608, hence its preservation. The word Pantheon may mean 'very sacred,' but the usual interpretation is, 'temple of all the gods.' It was this meaning which induced Boniface IV. to institute the Feast of all Saints, in connection with the conversion of the Pantheon to Christian use. At one time the church was called S. Maria ad Martyres, in allusion to the many waggon-loads of corpses that were removed there from the catacombs. It is now S. Maria Rotonda. Here are buried Victor Emmanuel II., 'Il Re Galant Uomo,' the murdered King Humbert, and Raphael.

After 300 years of rest the coffin of Raphael was opened in 1833, and the narrow skeleton, 5 ft. 7 in. in length, was placed in the ancient marble sarcophagus in which it now lies. Victor Emmanuel II. died on the 9th January 1878, a few days before the death of Pius IX. The magnificent and costly monument which has now been erected close to the Ara Cœli, in memory of the founder of the Sardinian Dynasty, confers less honour than this niche in the Pantheon. The body of King Humbert was brought here from Monza, where he was assassinated in 1900.

Just south of the Pantheon lies S. Maria Sopra Minerva, a piece of exotic northern Gothic in classical Rome. The interior has been much changed by 'restoration' in 1849-54, but contains many interesting monuments. In the Caraffa Chapel, for instance, there are frescoes (restored) by Filippino Lippi, and a statue, designed by Pirro Ligorio, of Paul IV., the Pope who persecuted the Jews and stimulated the Inquisition. Beneath the high altar is a gorgeous figure, surrounded by tapers constantly burning, under which lies the body of S. Catherine of Siena. On the left is a statue of Christ by Michelangelo, originally naked, now partly covered with bronze drapery. The adjoining Dominican monastery, now containing the offices of the Minister of Education, was formerly the home of the Inquisition. There Giordano Bruno was condemned, and Galileo is said to have denied the truth. In the piazza, where stands the obelisk on the back of an elephant, many heretics have been burned to death.

Returning to the Pantheon and taking any of the streets leading west (to the left) we soon reach the Piazza Navona, a long open space which formed the Stadium, for athletic contests, built by Domitian. It has three fountains, the central and southern by Bernini. In the centre of the western side is the church of

St. Agnese, erected on the spot of her exposure (aged fourteen) and martyrdom. At the northern end of the piazza is the Torre Sanguigna, where Cellini murdered the *sbirro*. West of the southern end we shall find at a corner the torso known as Pasquino.

The satirical genius of the Romans found vent in Pasquinades at a time when the censorship of the Press stifled all free expression of opinion. Pasquino was a tailor, whose shop stood opposite the statue. He introduced the custom of pasting pieces of paper on the statue, carrying pungent comments concerning the events of the day. Then another statue, Marforio, a large recumbent figure of Ocean, was made the vehicle for replies. The dialogues between Pasquino and Marforio were an unfailing indication of the trend of public opinion. Their verdict upon the executions of Sixtus V. has been already mentioned. Among the most famous of Pasquino's sayings was his allusion to the destruction of classic monuments carried out by order of Urban VIII. (Barberini)—

ARMS OF URBAN VIII. (BARBERINI)

'Quod non fecerunt barbari, fecit Barberini.'

When Pius VI. (1775–1800) covered Roman monuments with the conspicuous letters which still meet one at every turn, recording the restorations of the Pope, 'Munificentia Pii Sexti,' Pasquino exhibited the household loaf, reduced in size owing to a poor

harvest—as Rome thought, to Papal extravagance—with the significant comment, 'Munificentia Pii Sexti.'

When Napoleon Buonaparte had Rome and Pius VII. safely in his possession, Pasquino said,—

'I Francesi son tutti ladre.' To which Marforio replied,—

'Non tutti—ma Buona parte.'

Naturally the Popes did not like Pasquino. Adrian VI. ordered the statue to be thrown into the Tiber; but he was told that its sarcastic spirit would permeate the frogs in the river, who would never cease to croak pasquinades, and was so terrified at the idea that he left the statue alone. Marforio, however, was shut up in the Capitoline Museum, where he is still to be seen.

Proceeding south, we are now in the great new street, the Corso Vittorio Emmanuele. We cross and, leaving the Cancelleria on the right, continue down the Piazzi Cancelleria till we reach the fruit and flower market, the Campo de' Fiori, where a statue to Giordano Bruno has lately been erected on the spot where he was burned. Still keeping south, we enter the Piazza Farnese to admire the fine palace, built of travertine blocks taken from the Theatre of Marcellus and the Colosseum. It was begun by Paul III. from the designs of Sangallo, and completed under the direction of Michelangelo. It is now the residence of the French Ambassador to the Quirinal. On our right is the English College, which contains portraits of all the English Cardinals from Wolsey onwards. East of the Piazza Farnese we shall find the Palazzo Spada (now used for the Court of Cassation), which is visited by all tourists for the sake of its fine statue of Pompey, said to be the original which looked down upon the dead body of Julius Cæsar in the Senate House. This statue was found

where the Senate House is known to have stood, the head separated from the body. It is not certain that it represents Pompey; and the head is probably not a portrait of the great Roman.

From the Palazzo Spada, continuing east, we are soon in the Via di Pettinari, which leads across the river by the Ponte Sisto, built by Sixtus IV. in 1473 for the convenience of the pilgrims on their return from St. Peter's at the Jubilee of 1475. From the Trastevere (across the river) side, the Via del Moro leads south to the piazza in front of S. Maria in Trastevere. The tribune, mosaics and high altar of this church date from the twelfth century. It has been severely 'restored' by Nicholas V. in 1450, and again in 1870. The mosaics on the façade represent the Virgin and Child, with kneeling figures of Popes Innocent II. and Eugenius III., and ten female saints. The twenty-four red granite columns in the interior are of different orders and sizes, and were taken from a classic building; some of them carried on the capitals small sculptured heads of Isis and Serapis, and probably came from a temple of Isis. In 1870 these Pagan heads were cut off. At that date the old Cosmati pavement was removed, but exactly copied by the present one, which contains some of the original pieces. The twelfth century mosaics of the Tribune (several times restored) and many of the ornaments are worthy of notice, especially the fifteenth century tombs of Cardinals d'Alençon and Stefaneschi, at the end of the left aisle.

The Via S. Cosimato leads south to the church of SS. Cosma e Damiano in Trastevere, commonly known as S. Cosimato. SS. Cosma and Damiano were brothers, physicians from Arabia, who suffered martyrdom under Diocletian. A better known church named after them adjoins the Forum. There is an old gateway at the

entrance to this Trastevere church, with a low arch and two ancient columns, all of the tenth century; and it has fine cloisters of the tenth to the fifteenth century, with a good red brick campanile.

From the Viale del Re we turn south-east to the church of S. Francesco a Ripa; thence by the Via Anicia to the church of S. M. del Orto; and thence by the Via S. M. del Orto and the Via S. Cecilia to the church of S. Cecilia. This church is one of the earliest foundations in Rome, dating from the third century, soon after the martyrdom of the saint during the reign of Marcus Aurelius. She was of good Roman family. Being condemned to death for her obstinate adherence (*obstinatio*) to Christianity, she was at first shut up in the hot room adjoining the bath in her own house, but by a miracle she was unharmed by the suffocating vapours, and was then ordered to be decapitated. The executioner, though he struck her neck with the axe, was unable to cut off the head in the regulation three blows, and the Roman law forbade any further attempts. She lingered a few days but died of her injuries, and was buried in the catacomb of Calixtus. Her place of sepulture was forgotten until she made it known by appearing in a vision to Paschal I. in 821, who thereupon rebuilt the church, to make it more fitting the reception of the tomb. In 1599 the tomb was opened, and the body found in the attitude which was reproduced by Carlo Maderno in the statue now under the high altar of the church.

The church stands on the site of her house, which has recently been unearthed. Paschal's ninth century edifice has been greatly altered, and is once more in process of restoration. The campanile is of the twelfth century. The church is approached by a large court or atrium, which contains an antique marble vase. On the narrow frieze are mosaic portraits of the ninth

century, the two central representing S. Cecilia. On the right, inside the door, is the tomb of Cardinal Adam of Hertford (1398), with the arms of England, at that time three leopards quartered with *fleur-de-lis*. On the left is the fifteenth century tomb of Cardinal Fortiguerra. The chapel of S. Cecilia should be examined, also the ninth century (restored) mosaics of the Tribune. There is a handsome Gothic canopy over the high altar, and, in the confession below, the statue already mentioned.

The origin of the connection of S. Cecilia with music seems to be the story that when the heated apartment in which she had been immured was opened, she was found singing. Her music has the power of bringing angels down from heaven.

> 'When to her organ vocal breath was given,
> An angel heard, and straight appeared,
> Mistaking earth for heaven.'
>
> *Dryden, 'Ode for St. Cecilia's Day.'*

From here the Via Vascellari leads to the Ponte Palatino, by the side of which, in the stream, is one arch of the Ponte Rotto (1554).

We will cross the river by the Ponte S. Bartolommeo to the Tiber Island. The original bridge here was called the Pons Cestius, from Lucius Cestus, a magistrate in 46 B.C. It was rebuilt under the Emperor Gratian (fourth century), and entirely altered in 1886, the central arch only being ancient. The island is said by Livy to have been formed by the accumulation of corn grown in the Campus Martius, which after the expulsion of the Tarquins was consecrated to the god Mars, and thrown into the river On the island formerly stood the Temple of Æsculapius, the god of medicine, who came to Rome in the form of a ship, and then, changing to a serpent, hid in the reeds of the

island. The whole island was in classic times faced with travertine and given the form of a ship. The stern, with the figure of a snake upon it, was recently visible, but is now submerged under sand. A great part of the sandy bed of the river has been laid bare by the excessive breadth given to the new embankments, an error of calculation. Beneath that sand, how deep one cannot know, lie statues, coins and countless other precious relics from the earliest days of Rome. Only when a flood carries the stream over the usually dry part does the Tiber Island become an island.

The Ponte Quattro Capi is the Pons Fabricius, built in 62 B.C., and has thus survived for nearly 2000 years. Its modern name is derived from the four-headed Jani, of which two remain, which once supported the railings.

Having recrossed the river, in front is the open deserted space which was at one time the crowded Ghetto. On the left is the Palazzo Cenci, where the father of Beatrice committed so many crimes.

The Jews were compelled to reside in the Ghetto (from the Talmud 'Ghet,' meaning segregation) by Paul II., the same Pope who made them run races in the Corso during Carnival. At Ave Maria the gates of the walled-in Ghetto were closed, and no further exit or entry permitted. The Jews were compelled to pay special taxes, to wear a yellow hat or veil as a distinguishing mark, and were treated as a lower race, with few rights. Paul II. declared that it was 'too shameless and unseemly that Jews, whose guilt has precipitated them into eternal slavery, under the pretext of receiving Christian compassion, should insolently assume to dwell among Christians and take Christian servants, and even to purchase houses, without bearing a badge.' Express laws made it penal for a Jew to

enter into any trade except the selling of old clothes. Under the influence of this degrading legislation they naturally turned to fortune-telling, witchcraft, usury, and other even lower schemes for earning a livelihood. Julius Cæsar and Sixtus V. are the two great men who endeavoured to raise the condition of the Jews. With the abolition of Papal rule they finally obtained the rights common to human beings. The Ghetto was destroyed in 1886, its inhabitants migrating either to the Trastevere district or to the Lateran Quarter.

If we return to the Corso and the Piazza Colonna, a good route would be by the Piazza Tartarughe (north), where is a beautiful fountain, continuing past the Palazzo Mattei into the Corso Vittorio Emmanuele; thence by the Jesuit Church of the Gesu, and the Palazzo Venezia, to the Corso.

If, instead of returning, we continue our walk, we shall make for the remains of the porticus of Octavia, originally erected by Augustus. Within what was the portico is the church of S. Angelo in Pescheria, on the walls of which Rienzi exhibited his allegorical picture of Rome, and whence he issued, with the Papal legate, to take over the government by proclamation on the Capitol. To the right are the remains of the Theatre of Marcellus, in the Middle Ages converted into a fortress by the Pierleoni, now the Orsini Palace. Passing the Piazza Montanara, we reach the church of S. Nicola in Carcere, connected with the story of the 'Caritas Romana,' so often painted. The story is that in one of the cells (shown to visitors) below the church an aged prisoner, who was to have been starved to death, was kept alive by milk from his daughter's breast.

Continuing south, we reach the Piazza Bocca della Verita, the fountain with tritons in the centre; on the right the famous round temple known to a previous generation as the Temple of Vesta; and in front the

church of S. M. in Cosmedin, with its fine ninth century campanile.

The origin of the name of this church is uncertain. The church is of the eighth and ninth centuries, but has been much and recently restored. It is approached through a portico in which is the stone mask, the Bocca della Verita. In the Middle Ages it was believed that if a man made a false statement the stone would close upon his hand when placed in the mouth.

Ascending from the piazza towards the river, we pass the Temple of Fortuna Virilis, dating from the Republican age, but many times restored, and the house of Crescentius, until we stand upon the Ponte Palatino. From this point we may return by passing through the market-place into the Via S. Teodoro, and so on to the Forum, observing on the left the Arch of Janus Quadrifons and the church of S. Giorgio in Velabro, with its mediæval campanile.

The time has come to leave Rome. Before parting I must pay my final respects to the two genii of the place—the Amphitheatre of Vespasian and Titus, the Basilica of Bramante and Michelangelo—the Colosseum, and St. Peter's.

If the reader will accompany me, we will take our seats in the comfortable victoria of my friend Vincenzo, a cabdriver of all the virtues, for he never flogs, but sometimes kisses, his sleek, fat horse; he does not quarrel with his fee; and he has the tact to be garrulous or silent according to the mood of his employer.

Our route is by the Via delle Quattro Fontane, passing the church and campanile of S. Pudenziana, the Basilica of S. Maria Maggiore with its most beautiful interior, the splendid Pagan column used as a

S. M. IN COSMEDIN

pedestal for a saint, the curious little church of S. Prassede, the remains of two red brick mediæval towers, and the church of S. Martino ai Monti—passing these treasures, for we are after even bigger game—the carriage stops at the entrance to the Sette Salle. Amongst the olives and oranges, the shrubs and plants of this delightful garden, great ruined blocks of the Baths of Trajan crop up here and there, and in the distance looms the giant figure of the Colosseum. A nearer view may be obtained by driving a little further past the church of S. Pietro in Vincoli. But here, in the Sette Salle, we are spared the sight of guides and tourists; no modern associations disturb our reverent farewell to the Flavian amphitheatre.

There stands the genius of classic Rome. Its immense size, its splendid utility, and its terrible purpose belong to no race but the Roman. Beautiful now as a ruin, when new it was merely big and well planned. The crowds who flocked to it, were able to reach their seats without struggling or turmoil. They knew that the officials, whose duty it was to assist them, were servants of the public, and that in the conduct of the show the wishes of the emperor himself had to give way to the desire of the people. The London policeman controlling the overgrown traffic of a street blocked with vehicles, is but the modern representative of that genius for discipline and organisation, which made Rome the mistress of the world. Being seated, what was it the Romans had come to see? Death, ugly death, with all its horrid show of blood and pallor, its screams and groans of human anguish. Death, thrust with unsparing hand upon foreign captives, criminals, slaves, and professional killers, the lowest class of the population. Such an exhibition would have been impossible in any society which had retained its respect for the rights of the individual. It was agreed that a class

existed who had no rights—not even the right to die in peace. They were so worthless that their death-agonies were to be prolonged for the entertainment of the community. Amongst these unfortunates were those who had gone out of their way to denounce the religion which was a part of the State machinery. A man might think what he liked, and worship whom he pleased, but he was not permitted to lay his axe upon an integral portion of the social organisation. The Christians were convicted of 'hatred of the human race,' opposition to the omnipotence of the State (*Widerstand gegen die Staatsomnipotenz*, C. F. Arnold); and one cannot be surprised that their death was demanded in the amphitheatre.

The Colosseum, then, typifies the Roman nature by its giant proportions, its strength, its practical convenience for the public, its neglect of beauty or ornament. For its purpose, it reveals the indifference of Roman society to the welfare of any individuals who chose to dissociate themselves from the community; such persons were outside the pale, and had no rights of any sort; the only use to which they could be put was as amusement to the rest, whether in living or in dying.

We now re-enter the carriage and drive slowly half round the great mass, and then under the Arch of Constantine, keeping first between the Palatine and the Cælian, then between the Palatine and Aventine, and so by the river's bank to the bridge of S. Angelo, and, rolling along the crowded Borgo, alight at the foot of the famous obelisk in the great square.

As I look up at the immense façade what are my sensations? Certainly not pleasure—admiration, perhaps, but it is tinged with fear. I have an uncomfortable feeling of unworthiness, even of guilt. I am found out. The façade sees me. It calls upon me, with all

the stupefying effect of its broad and massive strength, to fall down upon my knees and—confess. As I hesitate, it stares me out of countenance. I drop my eyes and turn to the delicate sprays of gently-falling water. But now I feel the cold scrutiny of Bernini's self-complacent columns—their long octopus arms ready to encircle me, while the body of the monster waits eyeing me from the distance. I cannot escape. I approach the great church in a chastened spirit, the sense of subjection, of inevitableness, of the loss of will-power, increasing with every nearer step. Such is the effect of this Christian temple upon me. I have ventured to mention my own personal feelings, because they correspond to the intention of the Church. Sixtus V. placed the obelisk where it now stands in order that it should look small, to symbolise the crushing superiority of Christianity over Paganism; and the insignificance of man, the feebleness of the individual in face of the triumphant grandeur of the Church, is the lesson which the great basilica is designed to impress upon every visitor.

Surely the Gothic cathedrals of the north have a truer conception of the spirit of Christianity. Every part of their structure points, with mystic piety and reverence, to the sky. They encourage the pilgrim to join in a common hymn of praise and devotion to the great God of Love in Heaven. 'Come,' says Milan, Amiens, Cologne, York, 'come and worship God with me. See how comely it is to do so.' But Rome says, 'See how grand and powerful I am, and how contemptible you are. Remember that no man can reach Heaven without my protection; and that I have in my hands the disciplinary weapons of Excommunication, Inquisition and Index.' As I am oppressed by these thoughts I remember that the travertine, the marble, even the mortar of this imposing edifice have come

from the Colosseum and other Roman works of antiquity; and then I see that it is the spirit of old Rome that stands before me. Out of the *débris* of classic Rome the Roman Church has been built.

Here is the old Roman love of size, of overwhelming immensity. This great open area in front of the church, with the long arms stretching on each side to gather in all stragglers, is the old Roman spirit of centralisation. The severe discipline and wonderful organisation of the Roman Church are inherited from the Imperial City. Here again is old Rome in its wide toleration of all acts or misdemeanours, save the one unpardonable sin, the modern 'hatred of the human race'—heresy. On this point the Basilica of St. Peter has outdone the Colosseum. The Pagan did not follow a traitor beyond the grave. He was content with the punishment of this world. In other respects the Roman Church is the child of Rome, and has a character indigenous to the soil on which it stands, which could not have been produced in any other part of the world.

A last general look at Rome must be taken. Here from the Vatican the usual routine is to mount the Janiculan for the views from several excellent points, S. Onofrio, Tasso's oak, Garibaldi's statue, S. Pietro in Montorio. But to-day I have a mind for the upper road on Monte Mario, returning by Ponte Molle and the old Via Flaminia, for a last turn on the Pincio.

We turn out of the Piazza and enter the new quarter, which artists and other lovers of the beautiful have denounced in such strong language. These large square blocks have been badly built, without regard for health or comfort, and in defiance of all æsthetic considerations. The glorious dome looks down upon these results of the immense extension of Rome since the

temporal power of the Pope was superseded by that of the kingdom of Italy, with obvious contempt. 'A time will come,' it seems to say, 'when your mushroom growth of lath and plaster will fall to pieces, while I, who can trace my descent through nineteen centuries, am destined to live for ever.' On the one side is all the halo of an unrivalled historic tradition, all the attraction of ornament, of gorgeous ceremony, of mystery, of art, of beauty; on the other, the sordid spirit of an unscrupulous, commercial age. How picturesque was Papal Rome! For an artist no town in the world could offer such attractions. Though still by far the most interesting spot on earth, Rome now contains a great deal that is merely ugly. Bare cleanliness and cold newness have taken the place of the beautiful dirt and ruins. And yet one cannot shut one's eyes to the material advantages of electric tramcars and sanitary inspectors. If it be true that the Pope stood in the way of these advantages, one is bound to congratulate Rome on the increase of human happiness produced by the events of 1870. How the quarrel will end it would be folly to prognosticate. There is no lack of confidence on either side.

Meanwhile we have been ascending the slopes of Monte Mario, whence we obtain the view of Rome which greeted the German kings who came to be crowned emperor by the Pope. A curious effect is now noticed. The Dome of St. Peter's, as we get steadily further from it, begins to lose its inquisitive, spying, mundane look. In Rome, wherever we may be, the dome seems always to have its eye upon our movements. Go where you please, the dome sees you. But from outside Rome it seems to raise its great eyeball away from the muddy earth, and the soiled creatures crawling over its surface, to the clear sky of Heaven. This is already apparent from Monte

Mario; but at greater distances in the Campagna, from Frascati or Tivoli, the dome, no longer the oppressive inquisitor we have known in Rome, seems now to be pointing upwards.

Precisely the same effect may be noticed in any town which has a dome. But in Rome it is particularly noteworthy owing to the history of the city, and of the church. From a distance the Roman Church has always had a spiritual appearance, which, on closer inspection, assumed a more worldly tint. In the Middle Ages all the world was looking at Rome, thinking of Rome, kneeling in adoration at the feet of the Roman Pontiff. Crusaders, monks, friars, flagellants, jubilee visitors—all were inspired by awe of Rome. But when the multitudes of pilgrims, at the end of their long and dangerous journey, had arrived in the Holy City, they were shocked at what they found there. The Crusaders, to their horror, saw the altar of St. Peter's sprinkled with the blood of murdered men. Luther never forgot the indecent haste of his Roman neighbour in saying Mass, and declared that his visit to Rome hastened the Reformation. Boccaccio thought a religion which could continue to influence a pilgrim after he had seen what really went on at Rome, must be divinely inspired. And as for the people who lived at the fountain head, the Romans themselves, the whole history of the Middle Ages is one long record of the vain efforts made by each Pontiff in turn, to make his authority respected in the city. While the distant potentates of Europe were bowing down before the Pope, he had to flee from Rome to save his life. Even at the present day the strength of the Roman Church is outside of Italy, a fact which is in some way connected with the persistent selection of an Italian for the Papal chair, ever since the Reformation. Foreigners think

that a foreign Pope alone can save the Church ; Italians that such a selection would hasten her ruin. There is much to be said on both sides.

We are now descending the slopes of Monte Mario, and we presently reach the river, which we cross by Ponte Molle. Here it was that Constantine defeated Maxentius, Christianity triumphing over Paganism. In the plain on our right was fought the first battle between Belisarius and Vitiges ; there began the long war, which ended in the destruction of the Gothic kingdom in Italy, a brief resurrection of the Roman Imperium under the generals of Justinian, and then—the Dark Age.

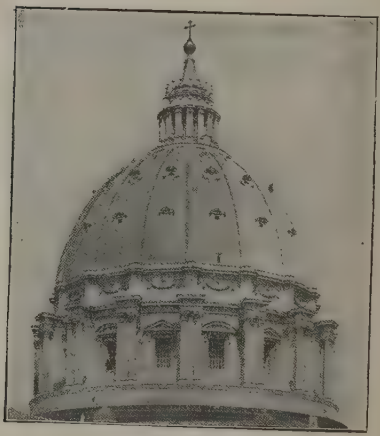
In the first half of the nineteenth century, before the introduction of railways, travellers usually approached Rome *viâ* Marseilles and Civita Vecchia, the actual entry being made at St. Peter's. The older pilgrims who walked all the way—Luther, for instance—came by this road, which retains its name of Via Flaminia, to the Porta del Popolo, and found accommodation in the neighbourhood of the Piazza del Popolo.

As the sun is getting low we drive up the slow ascent of the Pincian Hill. There, amongst the throng of tourists and residents, we get a last general view of Rome.

The day's excursion has included all the symbols of Roman history. The Colosseum stands for ancient Rome, St. Peter's for the Church, the Prati for the Romans, the Pincio for the visitors. The Colosseum embodies the idea of Roman supremacy over the world. Upon that solid basis have grown the three rivals—the Roman Church, the Roman Municipality, the Roman pilgrims.

The Basilica of San Pietro in Vaticano typifies the cry of Rome for the Church ; the Prati is the call of Rome for the Romans ; and here, on the Pincio, are

the foreigners, who, whether as Gothic kings, as German emperors, as artists, or as tourists, have always considered that Rome belongs to the visitors. All are struggling, in healthy rivalry, to get what they can out of the prestige of the Eternal City.



THE DOME OF ST. PETER'S.

APPENDIX

APPENDIX

Statistics show that Rome is one of the healthiest large towns in the world; but it resembles all other Italian towns in the great difference of temperature between sun and shade. Residents in Rome dress for the shade. May, when there are few visitors, and June, which sees hardly any, are perhaps the pleasantest months in Rome. August and September should be avoided.

The visitor who has ample time, who can give two or more winters to Rome, will probably in due course become acquainted with most of the sights recorded in large type in the index to *Murray's Handbook to Rome and the Campagna*. Such an one needs not the assistance of an itinerary. He will wander from place to place according to the convenience of the moment, taking care not to crowd his impressions, never attempting to absorb more than he can conveniently hold.

But those who are pressed for time will inevitably waste their scanty store unless they arrange it carefully. In Rome it is extremely difficult to lay out time to the best advantage, because of the enormous quantity of interesting objects it contains, which are mixed together without regard to chronology. There is such danger of confused impressions, which must inevitably fade, that one is inclined to advise the stranger who has small time at disposal to see as little as possible, and to make sure that he carries away with him a permanent recollection of what he does see.

HALF-DAYS

The Forum, Colosseum, Palatine Hill, Catacomb of Calixtus, Baths of Caracalla, and Baths of Titus are open till dusk. All the churches are shut between twelve and three, except St. Peter's, St. Paul's, St. John Lateran, Sa. M. Maggiore, S. Lorenzo Fuori, Sa. Croce in Gerusalemme, and S. Sebastiano. Most of the museums and galleries close at three.

It is advisable, as a rule, to visit museums in the morning, and churches at, or soon after, three, as towards sunset the light becomes deficient.

Assuming that the traveller drives, he may, by following the routes given below, succeed in visiting all the most important sights in sixteen days, without excessive fatigue. If time or strength fail, he should omit the less important objects, which are for that purpose enclosed within brackets.

1. Morning.—Corso. Piazza del Popolo. Castle of St. Angelo. St. Peter's. Janiculan Hill for the view of Rome. The Aventine for view of the Palatine. The Palatine. The Tower of the Capitol. Return by Forum of Nerva, Temple of Mars Ultor, and Column of Trajan. (*See* Chapter I. p. 9 *et seq.*)

Afternoon.—Arch of Constantine. Colosseum. Arch of Titus. (*See* Chapter II. p. 36 *et seq.*)

2. Morning.—Sacra Via and Forum Romanum. (*See* Chapter II. p. 52 *et seq.*)

Afternoon.—Palatine Hill.

3. Morning.—Via Latina. Tombs. Cross to Via Appia. Columbaria in the Vigna Codini.

Afternoon.—S. Sebastiano. Catacomb of Calixtus. Baths of Caracalla.

A little beyond the tombs in the Via Latina is

Tavolato (good view of the aqueducts and Campagna), where there is a restaurant.

4. Morning.—Vatican Sculptures and Antiquities.

Afternoon.—S. Peter's.

The Europea restaurant (not first-rate) is in the Piazza Rusticucci, facing St Peter's.

5. Morning.—Vatican Paintings.

Afternoon.—Sistine Chapel. Castle of St. Angelo. Ticket of admission at 24 Via Della Pilotta: or from the hotel porter.

6. Morning.—S. M. in Ara Cœli. Museo Capitolino.

Afternoon.—Trevi Fountain. Piazza di Spagna. S. M. del Popolo. Villa Medici. Pincian Hill.

7. Morning.—Pantheon. S. M. Sopra Minerva. Piazza Navona. Pasquino. Palazzo Spado for reputed statue of Pompey. (*See* Chapter X. p. 343 *et seq.*)

Afternoon.—S. M. in Trastevere. S. Cosimato. S. Cecilia. Tiber Island. Porticus Octavia. S. Angelo in Pescheria (exterior). Theatre of Marcellus. House of Crescentius. Temple of Fortuna Virilis. Round Temple. S. M. in Cosmedin. Janus. S. Giorgio in Velabro (exterior). (*See* Chapter X. p. 347 *et seq*).

8. Morning.—Aventine. S. Sabina. S. M. in Aventina. [S. Saba.] Take early lunch at Restaurant del Constantino.

Afternoon.—S. Paolo alle Tre Fontane. SS. Vincenzo ed Anastasio alle Tre Fontane. S. Paolo Fuori. Tomb of C. Cestius. Tombs of Shelley and Keats. [Monte Testaccio.]

9. Morning.—S. Clemente. [SS. Quattro Cormati.] Lateran Museum (Christian). There are fair restaurants opposite the Lateran.

Afternoon.—Basilica of St. John Lateran. Cloisters Baptistery. Scala Santa.

10. Morning. — Lateran Museum (Pagan). S. Croce in Gerusalemme. Porta Maggiore.

Afternoon.—S. Lorenzo Fuori.

11. Morning.—S. Pudenziana. S. Prassede. S. Maria Maggiore.

Afternoon.—S. Martino ai Monti. Sette Salle. S. Pietro in Vincoli. S. Francesca Romana. SS. Cosma e Damiano.

12. Morning. — S. M. degli Angeli. Museo Nazionale.

Afternoon.—Villa Borghese.

13. Morning.—Palazzo Doria. Palazzo Colonna.

Afternoon.—Villa Mattei (Thursdays). S. Stefano Rotondo. SS. Giovanni e Paolo. S. Gregorio Magno.

14. Morning.—Palazzo Corsini. Villa Farnesina.

Afternoon.—Villa Doria Pamfili. S. Pietro in Montorio. S. Onofrio.

15. Morning.—Palazzo Rospigliosi. Palazzo Barberini.

Afternoon.—S. Agnese Fuori. Catacombs of S. Agnese.

16. Morning.—Il Gesu. S. Marco. Museo dei Conservatori. Monte Cavallo. [Quirinal Palace.]

Afternoon.—St. Peter's. Monte Mario. Villa Madama (Saturdays). [Villa Papa Giulio.] Pincio. (*See* Chapter X. p. 358 *et seq.*)

BOOKS

The following is a short list of books, written in English, which may interest the ordinary reader :—

Handbook

Rome and the Campagna. (Murray's). Published by E. Stanford.

Archæology

G. Boissier. Archæological Rambles. Translated by D. Havelock Fisher (1896).

R. Lanciani. Ancient Rome (1888). Pagan and Christian Rome (1892). The Ruins and Excavations of Ancient Rome (1897). The Destruction of Ancient Rome (1899). New Tales of Old Rome (1901).

J. H. Middleton. The Remains of Ancient Rome (1892). 2 vols.

Northcote and Brownlow. Roma Sotteranea (1878). 2 vols.

M. A. R. Tuker and H. Malleson. Handbook to Christian and Ecclesiastical Rome (1900). 3 vols.

History and Miscellaneous

U. Balzani. Early Chronicles of Italy.

S. Baring Gould. The Tragedy of the Cæsars.

A. S. Barnes. St. Peter in Rome (1900).

E. N. Bennett. Paganism and Christianity (1900).

J. W. Bowden. The Life and Pontificate of Gregory VII. 2 vols.

J. Bryce. The Holy Roman Empire.

J. B. Bury. The Student's Roman Empire (27 B.C. to 180 A.D.).

The Later Roman Empire (A.D. 395–800) (1889). 2 vols.

J. Burckhardt. The Renaissance in Italy.

F. Marion Crawford. Ave Roma Immortalis.

M. Creighton. A History of the Papacy during the Reformation. 5 vols.

Gibbon. Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire. Edited by J. A. Bury (1900). 7 vols.

F. Granger. The Worship of the Romans.

F. Gregorovius. History of the City of Rome in the Middle Ages. Translated by Annie Hamilton. 11 vols. The Tombs of the Popes. Translated by R. W. Seton-Watson (1903).
E. G. Hardy. Christianity and the Roman Government (1894).
T. Hodgkin. Italy and Her Invaders. 8 vols. Theodoric (Heroes of the Nations).
Baron Hübner. Sixtus V. Translation by H. E. H. Jerningham. 2 vols.
Alethea Lawley. Vittoria Colonna.
H. C. Lea. History of the Inquisition in the Middle Ages (1888).
Vernon Lee. Euphorion: being Studies of the Antique and Mediæval in the Renaissance.
C. Merivale. A General History of Rome (to A.D. 476). 1 vol.
H. H. Milman. Latin Christianity. 9 vols. (1867).
T. Mommsen. The History of Rome. Translation by W. P. Dickson (1881). 4 vols.
J. C. Morison. The Life and Times of St. Bernard.
J. Owen. The Skeptics of the Italian Renaissance (1893).
Count Pasolini. Catherine Sforza. Abridged and translated by Paul Sylvester.
L. Pastor. History of the Popes from the Close of the Middle Ages (1895). 6 vols.
W. Pater. Marius the Epicurean.
H. F. Pelham. Outlines of Roman History (to A.D. 476). 1 vol.
A. R. Pennington. The Papal Conclaves (1898).
L. Ranke. The Popes of Rome. 3 vols.
E. Renan. Hibbert Lecture. 1880. (The Early Days of Christianity.)
P. Sabatier. St. Francis of Assisi. Translated by Louise S. Houghton (1895).

W. R. W. Stephens. Hildebrand and His Times.
W. W. Story. Roba di Roma.
The Castle of St. Angelo.
W. J. Stillmann. The Old Rome and the New.
J. A. Symonds. The Renaissance in Italy (1886). 7 vols. The Autobiography of Benvenuto Cellini: Introduction and Translation.
A. Tarleton. Adrian IV. (1896).
E. Zola. Rome. Translated by E. T. Vizetelly.

CHURCHES

S. Agnese fuori was founded by Constantine. St. Agnes, aged about 15, was exposed in a house of ill-fame (the site now marked by S. Agnese in Piazza Navona) and then killed with a sword, in the Valerian persecution (257-8). She is one of the most important of the saints and martyrs, ranking with St. Lawrence, after the Apostles. The original edifice was an oratory to the adjoining catacombs. The present basilica is of the fifth century, and though frequently restored, retains much of its primitive form. The basilica is reached by a long flight of marble stairs, having on the walls early Christian inscriptions. At the bottom, on the right, is an inscription in honour of St. Agnes, by Pope Damasus (366-85).

The nave has sixteen ancient columns, and a triforium gallery. The baldacchino (1614) is supported by four porphyry columns, and covers an antique statue of St. Agnes in alabaster, with modern additions in gilt. Her body lies in the confession beneath. In the tribune are mosaics of the seventh century. In

the second chapel on the right is a relief of SS. Stephen and Lawrence (1490).

At the festival of St. Agnes, 21st January, two lambs are blessed at the high altar.

S. Cecilia (*see* p. 348).

S. Clemente is an excellent example of the primitive church. The side entrance generally used is in the Via S. Giovanni. The main entrance, in the Via S. Clemente, opens on to an atrium with a colonnade of Ionic columns. The upper church was built by Paschal II. in 1108, the choir and ambones, of the sixth century, being brought up from a lower church. It has sixteen ancient columns of different orders and materials. The gospel ambone, on the left, has a double staircase and a mosaic candelabrum. The presbytery has a marble screen, also brought from the lower church. The baldacchino is of the time of Paschal II. (1108), who restored the marble throne with its slabs of the fourth century. The mosaics date from 1112. At the end of the right aisle, near the high altar, are monuments to Cardinal Roverella (1476), and of the left aisle to Cardinal Venerio (1479), the latter having half-columns of the sixth century. At the left of the main entrance, and right of the side entrance, is the chapel of the Passion, with frescoes by Masolino (1422).

The lower church was discovered in 1857 by Father Mulooly. It is of the fourth century, and has well-preserved frescoes. It is built upon blocks of travertine and tufa of the republican period. To the left of the tribune, at the end of the left aisle are some ancient Roman stairs leading to a house of the Imperial period which may have been the oratory used by St. Clement, the friend of SS. Peter and Paul, and himself bishop (fourth in the list of Popes) from A.D. 90-100. Beyond has been

excavated a *sacellum* or chapel to the Egyptian god Mithras.

SS. Cosma e Damiano was built by Felix IV. (526-30) in the Templum Sacræ Urbis and the Templum Romuli, in the Forum Romanum. The floor of the church was so damp that Urban VIII. in 1633 raised it to its present level, leaving the original floor below, and thus forming an upper and a lower church.

The mosaics in the apse date from the original foundation (526-30), and are among the best in Rome. The bodies of SS. Cosma and Damiano, who were martyred in the persecution of Diocletian, are under the high altar, which has some transparent marbles.

S. Croce in Jerusalemme was founded by Constantine, and takes its name from the piece of the Cross deposited here by the Empress Helena. The Church received its present form in 1774. The bell-tower is of the twelfth century. It is one of the seven pilgrimage churches, which are not closed between 12 and 3.

Beneath the high altar is an ancient sarcophagus in green basalt, which contains the bodies of SS. Caesarius and Anastasius. The frescoes in the tribune are attributed to Pinturicchio.

The chapel of St. Helen has mosaics after Baldassare Peruzzi. The floor beneath the pavement is of earth brought by St. Helen from Jerusalem. The relics of the Cross may be inspected. It was in this basilica that the Popes used to bless the golden rose. Sylvester II. died in this church while celebrating mass, in 1003 (*see* p. 179).

S. Francesca Romana was built on a part of the site of the Temple of Venus and Rome in the ninth century, and restored in 1612 by Paul V. The church was at one time called S. M. Antica, and

after a restoration by Nicholas I. (858-67), S. M. Nuova. Cæsar Borgia was cardinal of this church. Francesca Ponziani founded the Order of the Oblate Nuns, who are all of good family. She was buried in this church, and canonised in 1608.

In the right transept, on the left, is the tomb of Gregory XI., with a bas-relief (1584) representing the return of the Papal Court from Avignon to Rome in 1377 (*see* p. 254). St. Catherine of Siena, whose influence had strengthened the papal resolve, is shown walking in front of the Pope, while Roma welcomes him, and the citizens watch the procession through the holes in the walls.

On the right are stones in the wall, marked by the knees of St. Peter.

Under the floor of this church the pavement of the Via Sacra has recently been discovered.

The bell-tower is of the twelfth century.

The *Gesu* was built by Vignola in 1575; the façade and cupola being added by Giacomo della Porta. It is a large and gaudy church. In the right transept is the Death of S. Francis Xavier, by Carlo Maratta. The body of S. Ignatius Loyola, the founder of the Jesuits, is beneath the large ornate altar in the left transept. In the centre is the Jesuit motto, 'Ad majorem Dei gloriam,' and above a statue of S. Ignatius in electro-plate.

The church has good music, and well-delivered sermons.

SS. Giovanni e Paulo was founded in the fourth century on the site of the house of John and Paul, two officials of the Imperial Court, who were martyred in 362 under Julian the Apostate. The picturesque exterior arcaded apse is of the thirteenth century; to this period also belongs the bell-tower, with its inlaid coloured tiles and marbles, which rests upon solid

blocks of travertine, originally forming part of the Temple of Claudius. The church is approached by a thirteenth century portico, supported by granite and marble columns.

The nave has sixteen ancient columns, and a pavement in opus alexandrinum.

In the right aisle is the chapel of St. Paul of the Cross, founder of the Passionist Order; the walls are covered with marbles, and on each side of the altar are columns of Egyptian alabaster.

Excavations in 1889 revealed the dwelling-house of SS. John and Paul, which is reached from a door in this chapel. One room has pagan frescoes of a date previous to the conversion of the martyrs, while others have paintings of the ninth, tenth and thirteenth centuries.

S. Gregorio Magno stands upon the site of the house of Gregory the Great, in which he lived before he became a priest.

A long flight of steps leads to the atrium, which has some interesting monuments.

The nave has sixteen ancient granite columns. The pavement is in opus alexandrinum.

At the end of the right aisle, in the chapel of St. Gregory, the altar has sculptures of the fifteenth century, and a predella attributed to Luca Signorelli. On the right is a small chapel with the chair in which Gregory sat, and the recess in the wall where he slept. At the end of the left aisle is the Salviati chapel, which has over the altar, on the right, a Madonna which spoke to St. Gregory.

On the east of the atrium a door leads to a garden where are three chapels. To the right the chapel of St. Silvia; in the centre the chapel of St. Andrew, with the rival pictures, painted in 1608, of the martyrdom of St. Andrew—that on the right by Domeni-

chino, on the left by Guido Reni; on the left the chapel of St. Barbara, with a sitting statue of Gregory, begun by Michelangelo and finished by Cordieri, and in the centre a marble table at which Gregory entertained twelve poor persons daily, where they were joined one day by an angel.

St. John Lateran stands on the site of a house which belonged to Plautius Lateranus, who was put to death by Nero. Afterwards it belonged to the family of Marcus Aurelius, who was born there; and then it became an Imperial palace. Constantine gave it to the Bishop of Rome, St. Sylvester, and founded the church. Throughout the Middle Ages this was the principal church of Rome, and it still takes precedence of St. Peter's. The Lateran Palace was the residence of the Popes from Constantine to 1308, when it was burned down, and the Popes left Rome for Avignon. The palace was rebuilt by Domenico Fontana for Sixtus V. in 1586, but by that time the Popes had become established in the Vatican.

The church has a Porta Santa for a Jubilee Year; and was, until 1870, the scene of the coronation of a Pope. The present edifice is largely the work of successive restorations.

The façade (1734) is by Alessandro Galilei.

The bronze doors in the centre of the five entrances were taken from the Senate House (now S. Adriano). The church has a nave and double aisles. In the niches of the piers are statues of the Apostles, of the school of Bernini; and above are stucco reliefs of Old and New Testament subjects. The ceiling is the work of Giacomo della Porta. The pavement dates from 1420.

In the right aisle, against the inside of the first pillar, is a fresco by Giotto of Boniface VIII. proclaiming the first Jubilee (of 1300).

The second chapel on the right belongs to the Torlonia family. The third, the Massimi chapel, is the work of Giacomo della Porta. It has a Crucifixion by Sicciolante.

In the centre of the transept is the high altar beneath a Gothic canopy (1367) of white marble, with three columns of grey granite and one of marble. It contains, with other relics, the heads of SS. Peter and Paul. Below, in front of the confession, is the bronze monument of Martin V. by Simone Ghini (1433).

In the right transept are two ancient columns of giallo antico. The choir, greatly altered in 1865 and 1886, is covered with marbles, gilding and frescoes. The thirteenth century mosaics by Jacopo da Torrita have been refixed on the new vault of the apse.

To the left of the choir is the winter choir, which has finely carved oak stalls, and two columns of nero antico.

In the left transept is the altar of the sacrament, with four ancient bronze Corinthian columns covered with gold.

On the left is the entrance to the cloisters, which should be visited. They were constructed by Vassalectus in the thirteenth century upon a ninth century original. In the centre is a ninth century well. The passages contain numerous interesting fragments.

The Corsini chapel, on the left of the main entrance, was built by Alessandro Galilei in 1729, and decorated with marbles, gilding and reliefs. In the burial vault of the Corsini, on the left of the altar, is a Pieta by Antonio Montauti.

Important General Councils, known as Lateran Councils, have taken place in this church.

The *Baptistery*, or Church of S. Giovanni in Fonte, lies to the west. In the centre, surrounded by eight

columns of porphyry, with antique entablature, is the baptismal font of green basalt, in which Constantine in 324 was cured of paganism and leprosy at the same time. Here also Rienzi bathed, on August 1, 1347, on the occasion of his adopting the emblems of knighthood.

On the right is the oratory of St John the Baptist, with a bronze statue by Valadier (1772) between two columns of serpentine. The bronze doors are said to have come from the baths of Caracalla.

On the left is the oratory of St. John the Evangelist. It has two fine columns of Oriental alabaster, mosaics on the roof, and bronze doors of 1196.

Opposite the main entrance is a chapel with mosaics of the sixth century.

In the oratory of S. Venantinus is a mosaic of the seventh century.

S. Lorenzo fuori is one of the five patriarchal basilicas, to the patriarchs Paul, the Virgin, Peter, Lawrence and John; and it is one of the seven foundations of Constantine, and churches of pilgrimage.

The original church was an oratory over the Catacombs. Pelagius II. in 578 rebuilt and enlarged it. Honorius III. in 1216 built the present nave with its portico, and the chancel.

In front of the basilica is a statue of S. Lawrence on a column of red granite, brought here in 1865 from St. Paolo fuori.

The portico has six Ionic columns, above which is a mosaic frieze of the time of Honorius III. (early thirteenth century); and above that a frieze of sculptured marble, flowers, foliage and lions' heads, taken from an ancient building. The painting on the façade above is modern. Under the portico, on the left, is a sarcophagus, on which are reliefs representing a vintage

On the walls are thirteenth century paintings of events in the lives of SS. Lawrence, Stephen, Hippolytus and the Emperor Henry II.

The nave has twenty-two ancient Ionic columns of granite and cipollino. The pavement, of the twelfth century, is alexandrine. On the right of the entrance is an ancient Pagan sarcophagus, with reliefs representing a marriage. The walls above the nave have modern paintings concerning St. Lawrence and St. Stephen. The wooden ceiling has recently been painted in strong colours. Near the centre of the pavement is a mosaic of two mounted knights in armour, with griffins. The ambones, inlaid with serpentine and porphyry, are of the twelfth century. That on the right has a mosaic candelabrum.

The presbytery is over the nave of the church built by Pelagius II., where stand the lower portions of the ten ancient fluted columns of pavonazetto, and two of Hymettian marble, which rise on each side above the present level of the floor. Above are ten smaller columns of pavonazetto, and two of black Egyptian granite. The high altar is of the twelfth century. Behind it is a mosaic screen with panels of red and green porphyry, and an ancient Papal throne. The pavement is of the thirteenth century. On the arch, of which this is the original front, are mosaics of the time of Pelagius II. (578-90).

The lower church is reached by steps on the right. The stone on which the gridiron of St. Lawrence was placed is exhibited. Beyond is a modern chapel, gorgeously decorated in mosaic, where, at his special desire, Pius IX. lies buried. On the fresco above, the face of Cardinal Manning may be recognised.

S. M. degli Angeli is a large church built in the lepidarium of the Baths of Diocletian according to

the designs of Michelangelo. The church is entered by a vestibule which was once the circular hot-bath chamber. On the right of the entrance is the monument of Carlo Maratta, on the left that of Salvator Rosa. Further on to the right is the statue of S. Bruno, by Houdon, which Clement XIV. said would speak if the rule of his Order did not forbid it.

The transept is a hundred yards in length. Eight of the granite columns, forty-five feet in height, are ancient. Owing to the dampness of the floor Michelangelo raised the pavement about seven feet, thereby burying the original bases of the columns. Across the floor a meridian line in bronze was made in 1701, with the signs of the Zodiac.

Most of the large pictures were brought here from St. Peter's, where they have been replaced by copies in mosaic.

S. M. in Ara Cœli (commonly called the Ara Cœli). The Capitol in classic times had on its south-west summit the Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, and on the north-east the Arx or citadel, and the Temple of Juno Moneta. On this latter horn now stands the Ara Cœli, which dates from the sixth century. Originally Benedictine, the church and convent were transferred to the Franciscans in 1250. In the Middle Ages this church was the meeting-place of the Roman Parliament. The great flight of steps leading up from the Piazza Ara Cœli was erected at the time of the plague in 1350, as an offering to the Madonna of the Ara Cœli, the special protector of the Romans. The shorter staircase from the Piazza Campidoglio to the western entrance of the church was formerly the scene of the gratuitous dentistry performed by the monks.

In the nave are eighteen ancient columns of Egyptian granite, two of fluted white marble and two of cipollino.

The ancient pavement has pieces of mosaic, white marble, green and red porphyry. It has many slab tombs, still interesting, though much worn, for their mediæval costumes. The ceiling (1575) was restored to commemorate the battle of Lepanto (1571).

In the right aisle the first chapel has frescoes by Pinturicchio. Further on, a colossal sitting statue of Gregory XIII.

In the left aisle the second chapel, closed at other times, is at Christmas fitted up as a presepio or manger; and children recite verses on a stage opposite.

The Santissimo Bambino, usually kept in the sacristy, is then publicly exhibited (*see* p. 337). Further on, in the left aisle, is the sitting statue of Paul III.

In the right transept, against the left wall of the principal chapel, is the tomb of Luca Savelli (1266), father of Pope Honorius IV., and his son Pandolfo (1306), by Agostino and Agnolo da Siena from the designs of Giotto. Opposite is another tomb of the Savelli family, with an effigy of Honorius IV. above.

In the choir, on the left of the high altar, is the tomb of Cardinal Giambattista Savelli (1498).

The isolated octagonal chapel is dedicated to St. Helena. It is supposed to contain an ancient altar, said to have been erected by Augustus, bearing the inscription, 'Ara Primogeniti Dei,' from which has been derived the name of Ara Cœli. Here, in the left transept, is the sitting statue of Leo X.

The two Gothic ambones, covered with mosaic, are by Lorenzo and Jacopo Cosmati.

S. M. Aventina is also called *S. M. del Priorato*, from an adjoining priory of the Knights of Malta, to whom the church belongs.

On the right of the entrance is an ancient marble sarcophagus, now the tomb of Bishop Spinelli.

Further on a statue of Piranesi, the engraver (1778). Near the altar, to the right, is the tomb of Bartollomeo Caraffa (1440).

In the monastery, famous during the Middle Ages, Hildebrand (Gregory VII.) passed some years. There is a fine view from the garden.

A key-hole in the gate at the entrance gives a view of St. Peter's at the end of the avenue.

S. M. in Cosmedin (*see* p. 352).

The nave has twelve ancient marble columns. The pavement, the ambones, and the candelabra are of the twelfth century. The Gothic canopy over the high altar is supported by four columns of red Egyptian granite, and covers a red granite sarcophagus. Behind is an episcopal chair, with lions (about 1120); and a tabernacle of white marble inlaid with mosaic.

In the sacristy is a mosaic on gold, the Adoration of the Kings, brought from old St. Peter's, where it had been placed in 706.

The ninth century campanile is one of the best in Rome.

S. M. Maggiore (*see* p. 191) is in importance the third church inside the walls, and has a Porta Santa, opened in a Jubilee Year. The façade dates from Benedict XIV. (1741). The back of the church in the Piazza del Esquilino is by Carlo Rainaldi (1673). The twelfth century bell-tower is the largest in Rome, with a short spire added in 1375. The nave has forty-two columns, chiefly of Hymettian marble, with Ionic capitals. The flat coffered ceiling, designed by Giuliano Sangallo, is gilded with the first gold brought to Spain from South America, which was presented to Alexander VI. by Ferdinand and Isabella.

The mosaics over the chancel arch are of the fifth century; those in the tribune are by Jacopo Turrita (thirteenth century). The first chapel in the right

aisle is the baptistery, with an ancient font of red porphyry. The sacristy, entered from the baptistery, has reliefs by Mino da Fiesole.

The Sistine chapel in the right transept was erected by Sixtus V., who employed Domenico Fontana; it was restored by Pius IX. in 1865. On the right is the monument and statue of Sixtus V., on the left Pius V. Over the altar is a tabernacle supported by four angels, of gilded bronze. At the end of the right aisle is the Gothic tomb of Cardinal Consalvi by Giovanni Cosma (1299).

The baldacchino, supported by four columns of red porphyry, was erected by Benedict XIV. (1740-58), who employed Fuga. Below is a kneeling statue of Pius IX., surrounded by walls of marble. To the left of the high altar is a candelabrum in black and white marble.

In the left transept is the Borghese chapel, built by Flaminio Ponzio for Paul V. in 1608, adorned with marble and alabaster. Over the altar of agate and lapis lazuli is a miraculous painting of the Virgin and Child which preceded Gregory the Great in the procession to stay the plague in 590 (*see* p. 157). On the left is the monument of Paul V., on the right Clement VIII. Some of the frescoes above are by Guido Reni.

S. M. Sopra Minerva is the only Gothic church of any significance in Rome. The interior was thoroughly restored in 1849-54, the columns and roof being painted.

In the fourth chapel of the right aisle is a picture showing Cardinal Torquemada, founder of the society for giving marriage portions to poor girls, presenting three children to the Madonna. In the right transept is the Caraffa chapel, with frescoes by Filippino Lippi, and the tomb with sitting statue of Paul IV. (Caraffa),

Further on is the Gothic tomb of Guillaume Durand, Bishop of Mende (1296), by Giovanni Cosmas.

On the right of the high altar is a modern statue of St. John, on the left Christ by Michelangelo, to which modern drapery has been added. Under the high altar is a figure representing St. Catherine of Siena, whose body lies below.

In the choir are monuments to the two Medici Popes, Leo X. and Clement VII. On the left of the high altar is the tomb of Fra Angelico. The third chapel in the left aisle has a statue of S. Sebastian by Mino da Fiesole.

On the left of the entrance is the tomb of Francesco Tornabuoni (1480), by Mino da Fiesole.

S. M. del Popolo stands on the site of a church built by Paschal II. in 1099, on the spot which, in the popular belief, was haunted by the evil spirit of Nero. The present church was erected by Sixtus IV. in 1480, embellished by his nephew, Julius II., and again by Alexander VII. (died 1667), who employed Bernini.

In the first chapel on the right are frescoes by Pinturicchio; over the altar the Nativity, and scenes from the life of S. Jerome in the lunettes. On the left is the tomb of Cardinal Cristoforo della Rovere (1480); on the right Cardinal de Castro (1506). Above these, and other tombs in this church, are lunettes of the Virgin and Child.

The second chapel has an Assumption by Carlo Maratta.

The third chapel has frescoes by Pinturicchio. On the right is the tomb of Giovanni della Rovere, brother of Julius II. (1483); on the left the bronze recumbent figure of a bishop or cardinal.

The fourth chapel has a Renaissance altar-piece, and in the lunettes frescoes by Pinturicchio. On the

right is the tomb of Marcantonio Alberti (1485); on the left Cardinal Giorgio Costa (1508). In the right transept, on the right is the tomb of Cardinal Podocantharus, of Cyprus (16th century), with Virgin and Child and two Angels above. A door here leads to the sacristy, where is a high altar (put up in the church by Cardinal Borgia, afterwards Alexander VI.) by Andrea Bregno; and on the right the tomb of Bishop Gomiel; on the left the tomb of Archbishop Rocca.

The choir has frescoes on the vault by Pinturicchio; painted glass by Claude and Guillamme de Marseilles; on the right the tomb of Cardinal Girolamo Basso, nephew of Sixtus IV., on the left Cardinal Ascanio Sforza, both by Andrea di Sansovino (1510).

In the left transept, on the left is the fifteenth century tomb of Cardinal Lonati, with a relief of the Resurrection.

In the left aisle the second chapel was planned by Raphael to the order of Agostino Chigi, the famous banker. The mosaics on the vault of the cupola are from the designs of Raphael. In the left corner the statue of the youthful Jonah sitting on a whale was modelled by Raphael and sculptured by Lorenzetto.

The first chapel has the tomb of Cardinal Pallavicini (1507); and two ciboria beside the altar, with statuettes.

Luther resided in the Augustinian convent adjoining this church.

S. Martino ai Monti is the Church of the Carmelites. In 500, S. Symmachus built the church over an earlier foundation, but it was modernised in 1650 and has been restored since. In the nave are twenty-four fine ancient columns. It has a handsome roof, quite recently restored. In the left aisle are two interesting frescoes representing the interior of St. John Lateran

and old St. Peter's; the latter shows the bronze fir cone which is now in the Vatican Palace. The high altar, rich in marbles, stands upon a platform reached by steps. Another flight of steps leads to the confession, below which is the crypt and the original, now subterranean, church; here in 325 Constantine was present at a Council confirming the decisions of the Council of Nice.

S. Onofrio, on the Janiculan Hill, dates from the fifteenth century. It was built in honour of a monk who retired to the desert in Egypt and lived alone, and naked, in a cave for sixty years. The church is approached by a portico which has in the lunettes scenes from the life of St. Jerome by Domenichino.

The first chapel on the left has the modern monument to Tasso. The second chapel on the right has the Madonna di Loreto, an altar-piece by Caracci.

The frescoes behind the high altar are by Baldassare Peruzzi.

In the adjoining monastery the room is shown in which Torquato Tasso died, which has a wax cast of his face. Tasso's oak is a short distance further up the hill (*see* p. 305).

S. Paolo fuori-le-mura (St. Paul's) was founded by Constantine over the grave of St. Paul. The splendid fourth century basilica, before the Reformation under the protection of the British Crown, was destroyed by fire in 1823. The wooden roof took fire during some repairs, and fell into the nave and aisles, almost totally demolishing the basilica.

The façade towards the river has modern mosaics. Before it is a square atrium supported by large columns of pink and grey Baveno granite.

The interior has a broad nave floored with polished marbles, and double aisles supported by four rows of grey granite Baveno columns with Corinthian capitals

of white marble. Near the door are two columns of Oriental alabaster, yellow streaked with chalky white; these, with the four of the same material which support the baldacchino, were presented by Mehemet Ali, Viceroy of Egypt. The roof has modern carving and gilding. Above the transept, nave, and aisles, are medallion portraits of all the Popes in chronological order; the first forty, having escaped the fire, are from the old basilica. It so happens that the only English Pope, Nicholas Breakspear, Adrian IV., is in the worst position in the inner corner of the left aisle.

The two large Ionic columns which support the chancel arch were placed there in the fifth century. The mosaics above are 'restorations' of the originals, which were of the fifth century.

The colossal statues of SS. Peter and Paul are modern. The high altar has a Gothic canopy (under the modern baldacchino), the work of the Florentine Arnolfo (1285). It rests on four columns of red porphyry. The malachite on the pedestals was presented by the Emperor Nicholas I. of Russia. The body of St. Paul lies beneath the altar, his head, with that of St. Peter, being in St. John Lateran.

On the right of the high altar is a twelfth century marble candlestick with sculptures by Vassalectus.

The tribune has thirteenth century mosaics.

In the first chapel on the left of the tribune is a statue of St. Bridget by Carlo Maderno, and a very ancient wooden statue of St. Paul, much injured by the fire. Over the altar is the Crucifix, which spoke to St. Bridget, by Pietro Cavallini; and below it the medallion in mosaic of the Madonna, before which St. Ignatius Loyola and his followers made their vows (*see* p. 302).

The first chapel on the right of the tribune was designed by Carlo Maderno and escaped the fire.

The second chapel on the right has a sitting statue of St. Benedict by Tenerani, and twelve fluted Doric columns of grey marble.

The entrance to the cloisters (early thirteenth century) is on the right of the right transept. On their walls are pagan and early Christian inscriptions, and sepulchral monuments of later dates.

St. Peter's. St. Peter was crucified in the circus built by Caligula and made famous by Nero. Its north wall was used as the south wall of the old basilica commenced by Constantine. When that wall showed signs of giving way, Nicholas V. (1450) began a new building, which made little progress until Julius II. employed Bramante, and laid the foundation stone in 1506. The existing result is the work of many artists, among whom should be noted, Bramante, Raphael, Michelangelo, Giacomo della Porta who was employed by Sixtus V. (1585-90) to complete the dome after the design of Michelangelo (though not an exact copy), and Carlo Maderno (1606), who erected the immense façade. The basilica was dedicated by Urban VIII. in 1626. The colonnade was commenced by Bernini in 1667. The obelisk (near which St. Peter was crucified) was moved from its original site in the circus of Caligula and Nero, near the Sacristy of the Basilica, to its present position, by Sixtus V. in 1586. The fountains are by Carlo Maderno.

The bronze doors of the central entrance to the basilica were executed, to rival those of the Baptistery of the Duomo at Florence, by Antonio Filarete in 1445. On the right is the Porta Santa which is opened by the Pope, with great ceremony, on the Christmas Eve before Jubilee year, and closed by him exactly a year later.

St. Peter's is the largest church in the world, being

204 yards long to the 173 yards of St. Paul's, London. From the pavement to the top of the cross on the summit of the dome is 149 yards to the 128 yards of St. Paul's.

The dome is 46 yards in diameter, about 1 yard less than the Pantheon.

The vaulted roof is richly decorated with gilding and sunken coffers. There are four massive piers on each side with Corinthian pilasters in stucco. The walls and piers are throughout adorned with marble, sculptures and medallions. The figures are much larger than they seem to be, their gigantic proportions being in harmony with the immense size of the building. The pavement is of coloured marble. Near the entrance is a slab of porphyry on which some of the emperors of the Holy Roman Empire have been crowned.

The dome rests upon four enormous pillars, 78 yards in circumference, which have, in niches facing the high altar, colossal statues of S. Longinus (who pierced the side of Christ with a spear), S. Helena, S. Veronica, and St. Andrew. Above, in the balconies, are preserved, and periodically exhibited, the spear of S. Longinus, the piece of the cross of St. Helena, the handkerchief of Veronica with which Christ wiped his brow on the way to Calvary, the impression of His countenance remaining, and the head of St. Andrew. On the frieze of the dome are the words:—'Tu Es Petrus Et Super Hanc Petram Aedificabo Ecclesiam Meam Et Tibi Dabo Claves Regni Coelorum.'

The baldacchino, or canopy, is 95 feet high to the summit of the cross; it was cast in 1633 by Bernini with bronze taken from the Pantheon by Urban VIII., whose armorial three bees are marked on the gilded spiral columns. The high altar stands over the tomb of St. Peter. In front, on a marble balus-

trade, are ninety-five lamps, which burn night and day. In the Confession below is a statue of Pius VI. by Canova. Looking towards the entrance, on the left will be seen the bronze statue of St. Peter, the foot worn by kisses.

Right aisle. First chapel, della Pieta. Over the altar, the marble Pieta, the work of Michelangelo when only twenty-four years old. On the right is a marble column, from old St. Peter's, on which Christ leaned when disputing with the doctors. It has spiral flutings.

The next is a small circular chapel containing relics.

The third large chapel, of the Holy Sacrament, contains the bronze tomb of Sixtus IV., by Antonio Pollajuolo. Near it a stone in the pavement marks the grave of Julius II. (nephew of Sixtus IV.), for whose tomb Michelangelo executed the Moses in S. Pietro in Vincoli.

In the right aisle of the tribune is the tomb of Clement XIII., by Canova.

At the end of the tribune is the bronze chair of St. Peter, by Bernini, supported by four fathers of the Church, SS. Augustine, Ambrose, Chrysostom and Athanasius. It is supposed to contain the very ancient, much worn, wooden chair of St. Peter, which is, however, kept in a niche in the wall. On the right is the tomb of Urban VIII. by Bernini, adorned with the Barberini bees. On the left the tomb of Paul III. (Farnese) by Guglielmo della Porta. The statues of Prudence and Truth were modelled from the mother of Paul III. and his sister-in-law, Giulia Farnese. The latter was partly covered with a robe of painted lead by Bernini, and again (later) by order of Pius IX.

At the end of the left aisle of the tribune, over the altar of St. Leo I., is a large relief by Algardi, repre-

senting that Pope invoking the assistance of SS. Peter and Paul against Attila, the Hun. Returning towards the entrance on the right is the tomb of Alexander VII. by Bernini. In the left transept are confessionals for persons of different nationalities. In front of the central altar of this transept lies the body of Palestrina (died 1594), without a monument. Above is the Crucifixion of St. Peter, after Guido Reni (not far from the spot where the Apostle was crucified).

Under the next arch, to the right is the entrance to the sacristy, erected in 1775 by order of Pius VI. Inside the doorway are the statues of St. Peter (right) and St. Paul (left), executed in 1461 by Paolo Romano, which stood in front of the old Basilica. The chapel has a Madonna and Child by Giulio Romano. In the Chapter House are three panels by Giotto, and fragments of frescoes, angels playing on musical instruments, and heads of apostles, by Melozzo da Forli. On the opposite side of the octagon is the Treasury, with crucifixes and candelabra, some of them from the designs of Michelangelo or Benvenuto Cellini, and other precious ornaments. They are not shown to every visitor.

On the left of the entrance to the sacristy is the altar under which lies the body of Gregory the Great (died 604). On the left is the tomb of Pius VII. (died 1823), by Thorwaldsen. In the left aisle is the choir chapel, decorated by Giacomo della Porta, where the daily choral services take place. Under the next arch, on the left, is the tomb of Innocent VIII. by Pietro and Antonio Pollajuolo. Opposite is the niche where rests the body of a Pope until the completion of his monument. The remains of Pius IX. lay here for three years before burial in S. Lorenzo fuori. Under the next arch, on the right, over the door leading to the dome, is the tomb of Maria Sobiesky,

wife of the Pretender 'James III.'; and opposite is the monument to the three Stuart Princes, the Pretender and his sons Charles Edward (the Young Pretender) and Henry (Cardinal York). It was executed by Canova by order of George IV.

The crypt is closed to the public.

The ascent of the dome, 8 to 11 a.m., commences by the door opposite the Stuart monument.

S. Pietro in Montorio derives its name from the yellow sand of this part of the Janiculan hill. It was built on an older foundation in the fifteenth century. During the siege of Rome by the French in 1849 the campanile and tribune were destroyed, and have since been rebuilt.

In the first chapel on the right are frescoes by Sebastiano del Piombo. In the fifth is the Conversion of St. Paul, by Vasari.

In the fifth chapel on the left, Baptism in the Jordan, by Daniele da Volterra. In the first, St. Francis receiving the Stigmata, by Giovanni de Vecchi.

Near the entrance, the tomb of St. Julian, Archbishop of Ragusa, by G. A. Dosio (1510).

Beyond the third chapel, on the right, is the door leading to the Temple of Bramante (1502), on the spot where St. Peter was, at that time, supposed to have been crucified.

From the front of the church there is a fine view (*see* p. 10).

S. Pietro in Vincoli is so called because it contains the chains which were used to bind St. Peter in Jerusalem; they are preserved in a bronze tabernacle under the high altar.

The nave has 20 ancient fluted Doric columns of Hymettian marble. At the end of the right aisle is the celebrated colossal statue of Moses by Michelangelo, with figures of Rachel and Leah, partly

executed by him, on each side. They were intended to form part of an immense tomb of Julius II., to be executed by Michelangelo and placed in St. Peter's. The figure of Julius, leaning his head on his hand, and the remainder of the monument, are by inferior artists. The Pope was not buried here, but in St. Peter's.

The sacristy contains the Deliverance of St. Peter from Prison, by Domenichino. Above the second altar of the left aisle is a mosaic, dated 680, of S. Sebastian represented as an old man with a beard.

S. Prassede was the daughter of Pudens, in whose house St. Peter lived. The present church was built by Paschal I. in the ninth century, but has been much restored and modernised. The mosaics in the tribune, and those on the exterior and in the interior of the chapel of S. Zeno (third right), are of the ninth century. In the niche to the right of this chapel is one of the many extant pieces of the column at which Christ was scourged. It was brought to Rome by Cardinal Giovanni Colonna in 1223. The doorway of the chapel has ancient columns of black marble, and a carved architrave of white marble. In the adjoining recess is the recumbent statue on the tomb of Cardinal Cetive (1474), with reliefs of SS. Peter, Paul, Prassede and Pudenziana: and at the end of the aisle the tomb of Cardinal Anchera (1286). The bodies of SS. Prassede and Pudenziana lie under the high altar. In the sacristy is a Flagellation, by Giulio Romano. There are remains of a curious old campanile.

S. Pudenziana (*see* p. 86) is the oldest foundation in Rome, being on the site of the house of Pudens, with whom St. Peter lodged, and whose daughters, S.S. Prassede and Pudenziana, he converted.

The church is below the road, being reached by steps. In the nave are fourteen ancient grey marble

columns built up into piers. The mosaics of the tribune date from the fourth century, but have been much restored. In the chapel at the end of the left aisle is a marble group, by Giacomo della Porta, of the delivery of the keys to St. Peter. Below it is kept part of the altar at which St. Peter said mass. The well with a grating over it is supposed to contain the bones of 3000 martyrs. In the left aisle is the Gaetani chapel, with ancient mosaics.

S. Saba, on the Aventine, has been recently restored and excavated. Remains have been discovered of a church which was destroyed in 1084, with paintings of the same type as those in S. M. Antiqua.

S. Sabina, on the Aventine, dates from the fifth century.

The doors of cypress wood have sculptured panels, said to be of the fifth century. The door jambs of sculptured marble are of the thirteenth century.

In the interior are twenty-four fluted Corinthian columns of Hymettian marble taken from the Temple of Juno Regina, which stood on this site. Above them are mosaic decorations in red and green porphyry, of the fifth century.

In the pavement are several slab tombs. Near the high altar the mosaic tomb of Munoz da Zamora, General of the Dominican Order (1295). Near the entrance, on the top of a short pillar, is a large black Martyr's Stone, which was thrown by the devil at St. Dominic.

At the end of the right aisle is the Chapel of the Rosary, with an altar-piece showing St. Catherine of Siena and St. Dominic kneeling before the Madonna, by Sassoferrato. On the right is the fifteenth century tomb of a cardinal, with the inscription, *Ut moriens viveret vixit ut moriturus*.

On the entrance wall of the left aisle are some slabs of marble with ninth century carving.

Over the entrance door on the inside are the remains of a fifth century mosaic.

In the garden of the monastery in which St. Dominic lived is the orange tree planted by him. St. Dominic's room has been converted into a chapel, which is shown to visitors.

The *Scala Santa* is in a building opposite the north-east corner of the Lateran Palace. The twenty-eight marble steps are supposed to be those ascended and descended by Christ in the house of Pilate. They may be ascended only on the knees. The marble has become so worn that Clement XII. (1730-40) covered it with planks of wood, which also have been several times renewed. The Ecce Homo and Betrayal at the foot of the stairs are by Giacommetti.

At the top is the Sancta Sanctorum, built by one of the Cosma family in 1278, which may not be entered by the public, who proceed instead to the chapel of S. Lorenzo, on the right.

S. Sebastiano fuori was one of the seven churches of pilgrimage. It was in early times called S. Sebastiano ad catacumbus. The present church is of the seventeenth century. On the right is the Chapel of Relics, amongst them being a piece of white marble bearing the impression of the foot of Christ. The Saviour met Peter when he was leaving Rome, at the spot now marked by the chapel of 'Domine quo Vadis,' where there is a copy of this footprint.

St. Sebastian, martyred in 270 A.D., was at first transfixed by arrows, but recovering from his wounds was beaten to death. His remains lie under the high altar.

It was in this church that the bodies of SS. Peter and Paul found a temporary place of refuge in the third century; the well where they were interred should be inspected. The catacombs are of inferior interest.

S. Stefano Rotondo, on the Cælian, was founded in the fifth century. It is circular in form.

In the vestibule is an ancient marble chair said to have been used by Gregory the Great.

The church has two circles of grey granite Ionic columns.

The walls are covered with frescoes by Pomarancio, scenes of martyrdom in chronological order.

In the apse of the first chapel on the left is a mosaic of the seventh century.

The second chapel on the left has a sixteenth century tomb.

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PRINTED BY
RICHARD CLAY & SONS, LTD.,
AT BUNGAY, SUFFOLK, IN GREAT BRITAIN.

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